





THE GREAT TREASON PLOT IN THE NORTH

DURING THE WAR.

Most Dangerous, Perfidious, Extensive and Startling Plot ever Devised!

IMMINENT HIDDEN PERILS OF THE REPUBLIC.

Astounding Developments Never Before Published.

ILLUSTRATED.

By COL. I. WINSLOW AYER,

The Preserver of the City of Chicago; The Daring Officer of Secret Service, U. S., by whom the Formidable Conspiracy was Broken Up.

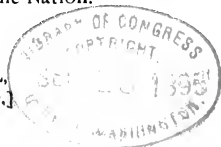
The Only Man Living who can give all the Thrilling Facts Concerning that Perilous Service.

Including His Memorable Address Delivered in Central Music Hall, Chicago, to Assembled Thousands, by request of Many Posts, G. A. R., and by Citizens generally.

Lieut. Governor Smith, of Illinois, Presiding.

The Distinguished Services of COL. AYER fully Recognized by the Highest Civic and Military Authorities of the Nation.

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By I. WINSLOW AYER,

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PREFACE.

By repeated requests of Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of other patriotic citizens throughout the Union, the eloquent and memorable address of Col. I. Winslow Ayer is now presented to the general public, as a hitherto unwritten chapter of startling revelations, an entirely new link in the war history of our country, which cannot fail to deeply interest every American citizen who may carefully peruse it.

Not only is the subject matter of the address given, but very many additional new, startling and intensely interesting facts have been introduced—most important information, not elsewhere accessible to the general public—in order to convey a connected, complete, comprehensive and authentic history of the diabolical, unprecedented and extensive Treason Plot.

From the work, lessons of gravest importance may be gleaned—matters well deserving the most thoughtful consideration, of all citizens, as relating to the exigencies of the *present* hour, as well as of years gone by.

Col. Ayer is the *ONLY* man who can from personal knowledge, as an officer and eye-witness, portray the terrible plot in all its details. It is doubtless generally

known that through his invaluable, and perilous services, the City of Chicago was saved from pillage and destruction, and the military authorities in Camp Douglas and prominent loyal citizens of Chicago were saved from inevitable slaughter. By his noble patriotism, courage, vigilance and tact, and the expenditure of his private fortune, the great Conspiracy, in all its enormity, was effectually and fully broken up. The hydra-headed conspiracy, so terrible in its designs, so wide-spread in extent, had been crushed out in its incipency, so was it confidently believed by the military authorities, but only to quickly reappear under another guise, more deadly in design and more formidable in power, than before. By Col. Ayer's investigation, zeal and heroism, the work was carried to a successful and final close. Arrests of the most dangerous leaders of the conspirators were made only *forty-eight hours* before the time fixed for the general uprising of the sworn, secret enemies of the Union! Immense quantities of munitions of war, and arms of all kinds were seized in the Conspirators' places of concealment.

The North had promptly responded to the last call for "three hundred thousand more" for the front, when *half a million* of leagued, oath-bound and armed Conspirators but waited the order to march to the support of the fast failing cause, to aid in the overthrow of the Union and the downfall of American liberty!

As we wonder at and admire the daring of Col. Ayer, it may almost seem that he had a "charmed life"

for no less than three known, desperate and determined attempts were made to assassinate him, but their bullets and their infernal machines were utterly powerless to swerve him in the least from his purpose to serve his Country. It has been said of him by a distinguished General, that "he fought single handed, and defeated a mighty army of the secret foes of our country."

FROM MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH HOOKER, COMMAND-
ING THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT.

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN DEPARTMENT:

CHICAGO, MAY 3, 1865.

COL. I. WINSLOW AYER,

Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure as it is my duty to express to you in behalf of myself and our country, my sincere thanks for the very great service you have rendered the Government. It was you who first apprised the authorities of the existence of the formidable plots, which but for your timely discovery would have been attended with great disaster to the general government, and would have resulted in the destruction of Chicago. It is not easy to calculate the evils which would have resulted in the culmination of the plots of our secret enemy. Your dispatches were of immense importance to the Government. I cheerfully acknowledge your promptness in furnishing reports to the Brig. General commanding the District of Illinois, and the commandant of the Post at Chicago, and your co-operation with that officer in

Two million dollars captured from the Union Army disbursed for the purchase of arms and munitions of war, in the States voted out of the Union.

Names of prominent leaders present.

Whisky, Treason, and Gunpowder.

Character of the members of the Convention.

Inside views of the Temples of Treason.

A night scene in the Cartridge factory of the Conspirators.

Treasonable Orders with as many aliases as a State's Prison convict.

Plot to release simultaneously all prisoners of war in Northern Prisons.

Strongest Centers of the Conspiracy in the several States.

Conspirators as Clerks of Provost Marshals, Telegraph Operators, Trusted Officials, and employes upon all Railways in Chicago and certain other cities.

Also as volunteer members of Union Armies, the better to steal horses, arms, and have the benefit of military drill.

Their Plot for breaking up Union Military Companies.

Conduct of disloyal Judges in Indiana.

Conspirators in Union Armies ordered to turn their arms against their fellow soldiers, instead of the enemy.

Attempts to burn New York. Execution of Capt. Kennedy, the incendiary.

The treasonable Order organized to resist Drafts in the Western States, in New York and elsewhere.

Draft Riot in New York—burning of the Colored Orphan Asylum—Three Days' Reign of Terror.

An Atrocious Plot between Conspirators and Guerilla bands.

Preparation of Greek Fire for the destruction of Union property.

Cold blooded Assassination of Union Soldiers and Citizens in Charleston, Illinois, and other places in Illinois and Indiana.

A proposed general armed uprising of Conspirators by co-operation with and support of the Public enemy.

Proposed attack upon Chicago, with steam tugs mounted with cannon.

A similar course to be taken in Missouri.

Treason Trials in Indiana.

Greek Fire Shells, Hand Grenades, Rockets and Infernal Machines made in Indianapolis.

Why the proposed Revolution in Indiana failed.

Deeds and designs of Indiana Conspirators.

Indiana to have been a "Second South Carolina."

Three leading Conspirators in Indiana sentenced to the gallows.

Supposed final suppression of the terrible plot.

Popular feeling of security fully restored.

“Knights of the Golden Circle” had ceased to exist as an organization; “American Knights” had also been crushed out—no apparent cause for further alarm.

Address of “Grand Commander” H. H. Dodd of Indiana.

The Conspirators more active, virulent and dangerous than ever before.

Change of name to “Sons of Liberty.” Change of base to Chicago—Unsuspected by authorities or people.

Three degrees of the Order S. O. L.

Extraordinary precautions against exposure.

Whole regiments of armed and drilled conspirators in Chicago, and 140,000 members, armed, drilled and ready, in Illinois, to say nothing of other States.

Complete Plot to simultaneously liberate all prisoners of war—nearly forty thousand—in Northern prisons, beginning with the destruction of Chicago and slaughter of every officer and soldier in Camp Douglas.

But five hundred Union soldiers, the guard of thirteen thousand prisoners, including Morgan’s men.

No protection nor defense for the city of Chicago.

Details of the Carnival of Death.

The Black Flag! Slaughter of Union Soldiers and Citizens.

Horrors of the first French Revolution to be re-enacted in Chicago.

Preparing dispatches for Washington.

Plot to assassinate Gov. Morton of Indiana—Bloody work for the “Committee of Ten.”

Time fixed for the general uprising.

The People of Chicago apprehend no danger from a secret foe.

Brisk trade in firearms and knives.

The Conspirators fully armed and thoroughly drilled.

Conspirators come to Chicago by thousands.

The dawn of August 28, 1864.

The Order harangued by a Judge, inciting murder.

Bloodthirsty mobs in the streets of Chicago.

Fifty thousand dollars for inciting the assassination of President Lincoln.

The murderous purpose known in Washington six months prior to the perpetration of the deed.

Doomed cities in the North.

The ballot, bullet, and “butternut” machinery.

John Morgan and his men.

Mary Ann Pitman, as the daring “Lieut. Rawley” of Forest’s Command.

Piracy on Lake Erie.

Attempt to capture the U. S. War Steamer, “Michigan,” guarding Johnson’s Island.

Thrilling details of the plot.

Banquet given on board the “Michigan” by a leading Conspirator.

Tribute to be levied on all Lake Cities.

Timely notice to the authorities.

The Conspirator arrested at the table.

Seizure of the steamers, "Philo Parsons" and "Island Queen" by the Pirates.

Execution of Capt. Beal, Commander of the expedition.

A rebel officer and leading Conspirator heading a torch light procession in Chicago, in which were three regiments "Sons of Liberty."

Why the uprising did not then occur.

Date again fixed for the general uprising.

The treasonable Order all over the North, in concert of action.

Concealment of boxes of fire arms and ammunition in every ward in the city of Chicago.

Arms and various weapons stored near Windsor, Canada.

An invading force of ruffians from Canada, in Chicago, to share in the slaughter of loyal people, and plunder of the banks.

Visit of Reconnaissance to Camp Douglas by the "Brig. Gen." of the Order.

Definite designs for the liberation of all prisoners of war in Northern Posts.

Rescue of a boy Captain of a rebel company, recruited in Chicago.

Last session of the Council of Conspirators in Chicago. Sabbath evening, Nov. 6, 1864, in "Invincible Club Hall." A scene never to be forgotten.

Revolution to be begun within *forty-eight hours*.

Gathering of a horde of Conspirators in the heart of the city.

Desperadoes who had visited the city in August.

Ruin, destruction and death seemingly inevitable.

Distribution of loaded fire arms on the streets of Chicago, to the ruffians of the Order.

Red and white ribbon, the distinguishing badge of the Conspirators.

Fires to be kindled in various parts of the city, to cover the attack upon the Camp.

The thirteen thousand prisoners in Camp apprised of the design by rockets, and by the "Woman who carried the mail."

The time for action had arrived.

Night calls of Union Soldiers upon the Conspirators.

An exciting scene. Arrest of the leading spirits of the Order.

Ruffians, murderers, and high toned scoundrels.

Many "taken up tenderly, lifted with care."

Seizure of munitions of war, boxes of loaded guns and cartloads of revolvers—weapons enough to stock an arsenal.

A telegram of consternation to Conspirators in all places.

The treasonable Orders fully, effectually and finally broken up.

All haste for Canada.

A grimly humorous side.

Several known attempts to assassinate Col. Ayer.

Partisan rancor in the North during the war.

Treason in Public debates.

Buildings made notable by assassins.

Cowardice and hypocrisy of the leaders.

Arrest, Trial, Sentence, Exile and Return of
"Supreme Commander," Clement L. Vallandigham.

Lessons for thinking people.

Official report of the Judge Advocate General U. S.

The Great Treason Plot in the North, largely the
work of foreigners.

St. Albans Raid.

Assassination in this Country and in Europe.

Brilliant Paragraphs of Patriotic Sentiment.

The Race Problem in this Country.

Are the Americans true to themselves ?

The Golden Age of America.

The Grand Army of the Republic.

The Lieut. General of U. S.

Sketch of the distinguished services of Gen. Franz
Sigel.

Tribute to the Nation's honored dead.

Woman's Relief Corps.

Sons and Daughters of Veterans.

The fatal Nineteenth of September.

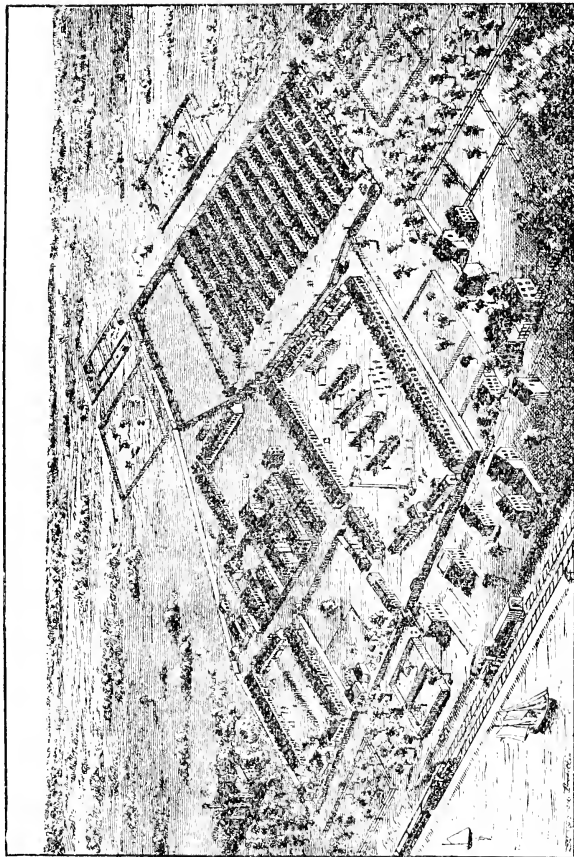
The Chickamauga National Military Park.

“Fighting Joe.” Sketch of the military record of Major General Joseph Hooker.

Strength and Losses of the Union Army during the war.

The Subject of the Services of Col. I. Winslow Ayer, before United States Congress.

VIEW OF CAMP DOUGLAS IN 1864—COL. B. J. SWEET, Commanding.



University.

Lake,

I. C. and M. C. R. Rs.

Garrison Square.

Prisoners' Square.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Portrait of the Author.

Depot of Prisoners of War, Johnson's Island, Ohio.

Chicago Conspirators before the Military Commission.

Portrait of Col. G. St. Leger Grenfell, hero of the Black Flag.

Portrait of "Brig. Gen." Charles Walsh, Commanding the Conspirators in Chicago.

Portrait of Judge Buckner S. Morris, Grand Seignior of Illini Temple, Chicago.

Portrait of the Woman who carried the Mail to and from the prisoners of war in Camp Douglas.

Portrait of Horace Heffren, Deputy Grand Commander of Conspirators, in Indiana, arraigned for treason.

Andrew Humphreys "Colonel" of Conspirators in Indiana, arraigned for treason.

Col. William A. Bowles	} Convicted of Treason and Sentenced to the gallows.
Col. Lambdin P. Milligan	
Col. Stephen Horsey	

Full length picture of "Grand Commander" H. H. Dodd in his "grand" slack-rope performance. ["As the hour for daring deeds had come," the "Grand Commander" had not time to sit for his picture, and it was taken *a la* spider on the run.]

Lieut. Rawley (a woman) of Forest's Command.

Lieut. General John M. Schofield, U. S. Army (with sketch.)

Gen. H. L. Burnett, Judge Advocate, Department of the Ohio and Northern Department, who tried the assassins of President Lincoln and the leading conspirators.

Maj. General Franz Sigel (with sketch).

Thos. G. Lawler, Commander-in-Chief, G. A. R.

Portrait of Gov. Morton, Indiana.

Portrait of Gov. Yates, Illinois.

Portrait of Gov. Blair, Michigan.

Old Camp Morton near Indianapolis.

Old Camp Douglas near Chicago.

Ford's Theater where President Lincoln was shot.

House where President Lincoln died.

The Old Surratt House where Booth's Assassination Plot was devised.

The Old Seward Mansion where Secretary Seward was stabbed by the Conspirator "Payne," and where Hon. J. G. Blaine died.

Portrait of Emma R. Wallace, Nat. President, Woman's Relief Corps.

Portrait of Jennie Bross, Nat. Secretary Woman's of the Relief Corps.

Mrs. Sarah C. Mink, Past Nat. President, W. R. C.
Old Military Camp and Prison at Rock Island, Ills.
Portrait of Major General Joseph Hooker.

Portrait of Col. B. J. Sweet, Commander of Camp
Camp Chase near Columbus, Ohio.

Infernal Machines, Shells, for Greek fire, etc.

EXPLANATION OF THE LATTER.

A—An ordinary traveling satchel, open; shows an alarm clock without bell; set at a given time; on starting into motion it springs the lock of a gun which explodes a cap upon a tube charged with gun powder; this fires a train connected with a vial of Greek fire, and ignites tow saturated with turpentine.

B B B—Conical shell, unscrewed

B—A case containing powder with nipple at top for cap.

D C—Screws into D; the space between being filled with Greek fire.

C and D—Form an internal shell loosely fitting the conical shell B. Striking a hard object, the blow explodes the cap of C.

E—A spherical shell or hand grenade.

F and G—The same unscrewed.

H—An interior shell with nine nipples for caps, loosely fitting, leaving space for concussion. H unscrews in the center to hold K, a small vial of Greek fire, the space between filled with powder. Dropping the shell, even a few inches above the floor, never fails to explode a cap. The cord attached to the shell E enables a person to throw it a great distance.

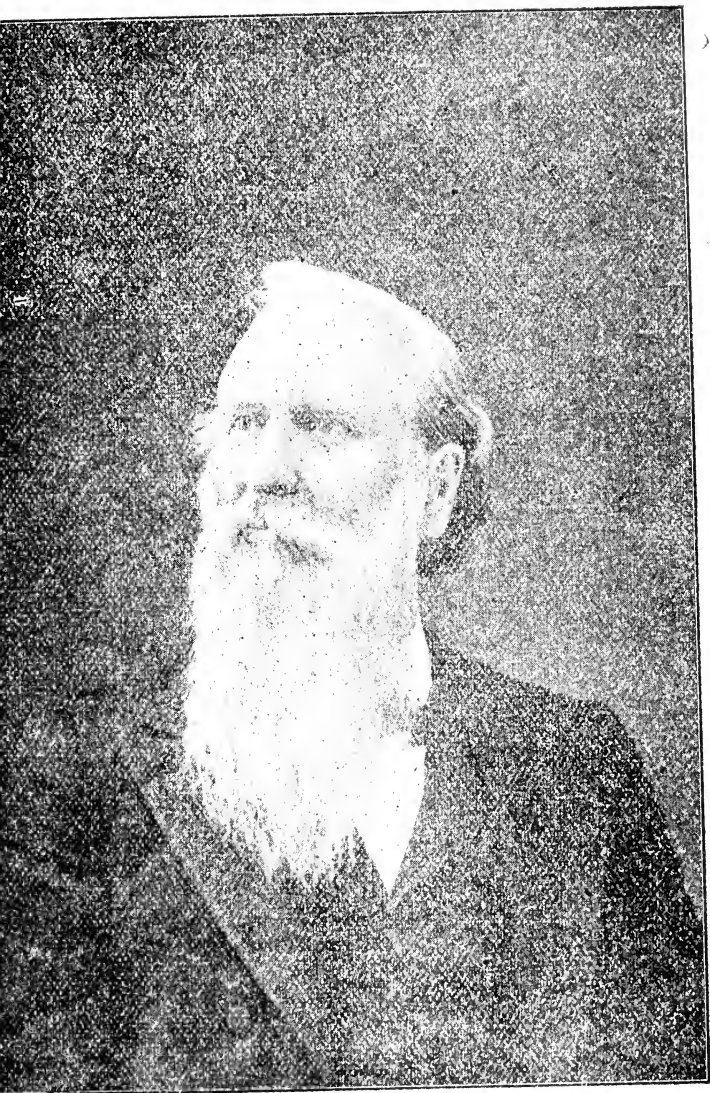
TO ALL POSTS OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC, THE WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, and

To all who in any wise responded to the call of our
Country by services, material aid, or by sympathy, in
the dark days of the rebellion and a patriotic people
throughout our glorious union, this scrap of war history
is affectionately dedicated by the author.

Our Country Forever,

Fraternally Yours,

I. WINSLOW AYER.



THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER I.

SECRET TREASONABLE ORDERS—"KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN CIRCLE"—A MORE DANGEROUS ORDER—THE SERPENT CASTS HIS SKIN—THE OLD ENEMY UNDER A NEW NAME—"SONS OF LIBERTY"—ITS DEGREES, "TEMPLE," "GRAND COUNCIL," AND "SUPREME COUNCIL"—MATERIAL OF WHICH THE ORDER WAS COMPOSED—A LARGE ARMY OF CONSPIRATORS—HALF MILLION OATH-BOUND TRAITORS, ARMED WITH GUNS, RIFLES, REVOLVERS, LANCES AND GREEK-FIRE—THE ORGANIZATION COMPLETELY OFFICERED AND THOROUGHLY DRILLED—STRENGTH OF THE ORDER AND NAMES OF THE LEADERS IN DIFFERENT STATES—THE "SUPREME COMMANDER" OF THE ORDER IN THE UNITED STATES—CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM ARRAIGNED FOR TREASON, CONVICTED AND SENT BEYOND OUR MILITARY LINES—HIS COOL RECEPTION IN "DIXIE"—HIS RESIDENCE AND "COURT"

IN CANADA—WHAT WOULD HAVE OCCURRED HAD HE BEEN ARRESTED UPON HIS RETURN TO OHIO—CONCEALED ARMS NEAR WINDSOR—MUNITIONS OF WAR AND INFERNAL MACHINES MADE IN INDIANAPOLIS---A SCHEME TO STEAL HORSES, ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS BY ENLISTMENT IN THE ARMY.

For three decades the bright verdure of Spring, the beauteous flowers of Summer, the somber shades of Autumn and the ice gems of Winter have come and gone since the war closed,—since a grateful and patriotic people all over the land, sang together anthems of joy and thanksgiving for the return of peace. The great conflict to the people of the present day, save to the actors in the thrilling drama, is but the memory of an oft told tale.

In the years since gone by, "Time's effacing fingers" have obliterated the traces of warfare in the land. Golden grain now waves, and laughing flowerets bloom in fields once reddened with the life-blood of the brave. Sectional differences are happily settled for all time, and a brotherhood of patriotic men all over our broad domain join in their devotion for our glorious country—one and indivisible forever.

Of the brave foemen who met us upon the open field of battle, to arbitrate differences by the last recourse to which men can appeal, the historic page presents the record of their valor as well as of the glorious triumphs of the Union arms; but the history of that eventful period will not be complete till the thrilling records of the Secret Service shall have place upon its pages. As an officer of our country during the darkest days of the

Republic, I am thoroughly conversant, by personal experience and observation, with the stirring events of the times, and will give an unwritten chapter of our nation's history,—of startling revelations concerning the great conspiracy in the North during the war—the greatest, most perfidious and fiendish plot ever recorded in the annals of nations.

Had our brave soldiers known when at the front all the facts relating to the miscreants and assassins who killed their comrades and menaced their wives and children, who lurked in our Northern cities and villages, seeking to ruin the Country, to paralyze our army, it would have blanched the faces of those men and startled them with horror. To have proclaimed to the public that a scheme had been concocted by our secret enemies, of so formidable a character, so insidious and deadly in its operations, so complete in its details, and so extensive in its scope, as that of which I shall speak,—that it had found favor and support in nearly all the cities and large villages of Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky and sections of New York, Ohio, Iowa and certain other states—that scarcely a village in some of the states was exempt from its corruption,—that it included in its ranks as great a number of traitors, in the aggregate, as the number of men in the armies of Grant and Sherman, and that all who were so leagued recognized one common cause—the destruction of our country, the defeat and humiliation of our arms and the triumph of rebellion, it would have been deemed a delusion by the majority of the people, had not the developments before the military tribunals of the land established the facts beyond the shadow of a doubt.

Had not the conspirators been foiled at an opportune moment, their designs would have been executed in every particular, and in view of the then existing conditions, it is scarcely possible to overestimate the disastrous consequences to the cause of the Union. Not only will the public be astounded by the facts I shall present, but will realize, as never before, the imminent peril of the country and the greatness and importance of the services rendered by the nation's defenders.

In the early years of the war, it became evident to the people that secret treasonable organizations of a most dangerous character were in existence; their fruits were easily recognized. Our soldiers in the army were often importuned by letters to desert their posts and to betray their flag; soldiers visiting their homes upon furloughs were in several known instances murdered; dwellings of Union soldiers' families were burned by incendiaries; drafts of the Government were resisted and Congressmen were approached with treasonable proposals. But these are comparatively minor offences which these men are known to have perpetrated; my indictment will include more heinous crimes.

Why not let by-gones be forgotten? The parties arraigned will lose votes and office and caste by such reminiscences. They will not kill any more Presidents, nor any more Union soldiers, perhaps! I am glad to believe that, and will assume my army comrades and all my countrymen will be also. The lapse of time does not change guilt to innocence; it does not change murder into innocent pastime, nor treason into patriotism! Civilization can find no apology for such guilt and depravity.

What branch of the Military service is it that trains men to stab and shoot and kill in secret, their fellow citizens and neighbors,—to pillage and burn their homes? I know no name for this other than assassination, brigandage, incendiarism! These are not, never were and never will be recognized as legitimate warfare by any civilized race, and least of all by Americans. Such crimes are and ever will be held in abhorrence by all good people throughout the world. While I would not incite animosity towards individuals, I would not seek to make respectable that which all good people everywhere hold in abhorrence; nor would I condone blackest guilt because of formidable numbers of the guilty.

There are many, and some in high places, who prefer to let by-gones be forgotten; so there are better men, though felons in the States' prisons who prefer the same thing. It is from truthful history of the past, that nations as well as individuals may glean lessons of wisdom for the future.

Paris in 1789 was not more disturbed by plots against the Government, than was New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis and certain other cities of the Union in 1862-3-4 by Secret treasonable organizations. A brief sketch of the origin and purposes of the "Orders" will be essential for a complete understanding of the startling details to be presented.

Prior to the breaking out of the rebellion in 1861, secret organizations, the most effective agencies in the conspiracy against the Union, had not been introduced to any great extent into the non-slaveholding States, and

perhaps had no existence north of the compromise line of 1820 known as Mason and Dixon's line, but south of this line, they had long been standing institutions in every city and populous district. On the 17th of April, 1861, the report of the gun fired upon Fort Sumpter was heard by every member of these secret conclaves in the South, and was the signal for the opening of every "temple" of the order "K. G. C." in the land. Knowing the potency and efficacy of such agencies at the South, the plan of secretly organizing traitors in the northern States was determined upon as early as 1862. With these views, shrewd and sagacious men established themselves in that year, in Missouri, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and certain other States, and put the machinery in motion. The order of "Knights of the Golden Circle," an old southern institution, started on its mission northward, and the work was vigorously begun in the border States. This plan was a success. It gradually spread, until it was firmly rooted in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, New York and parts of other States, and this within a few months of its introduction in the North.

The Order was well adapted for the purpose for which it was organized—the inculcation of treason. Men of every station in life, united with the Order, and soon it could boast of its membership as including legislators, judges even of the higher courts, doctors, lawyers, merchants and indeed men from every avocation. While the leaders were cunning, many of them of high intellect and liberal education, the "rank and file" was composed of different material. It not being necessary

by the tenets of the Order, that the latter should *think* at all, brains were at a discount,—muscle only was required—beings who would fall into line at the word of command, and follow on to any undertaking, however desperate and criminal, without a thought concerning the character of the object to be attained—beings who could be led or driven wherever and whenever it might suit the purpose or designs of their masters.

Men from the lowest walks of life were preferred, as material for the order. In the primary organization social distinction was waived by the leaders, and the lowest wretch in the order was placed upon a level with judges, merchants and politicians,—within the hall of meeting,—thus offering inducements potent enough to make the lodge room a place of interest and attraction to the lower strata of the organization. So thrived and flourished the “Knights of the Golden Circle” in the North. The least of its evils was the destruction by Greek Fire of United States transports on the Ohio—notably the steamer “Taylor” at Louisville, and steamers laden with Government stores, on the Mississippi, etc. Being insufficient in powers of evil to fully execute the base purposes of the leaders, the organization was short lived in the north, but not so the elements of which it was composed. The suspicion of the Government had been aroused by the movements of the order, but the change of its name and the most careful precautions upon the part of the leaders, quieted such distrust. The order of “American Knights” was at once organized, and members of the “K. G. C.” were inducted; in other words the serpent had cast its skin

but was the same old serpent still. The old order with its new name adopted an entirely new feature—one of Military character, retaining still its incendiary powers and purposes.

By the formation of degrees in the new Order, the leaders were able to give to each candidate in quest of its hidden mysteries, a comfortable and genial sphere in which he could qualify himself for higher honors! By this ingenious plan, he would soon be competent to advance into full fellowship with its most diaboical designs! A glance at this organization, will show the shrewdness of the master spirits of evil in the formation of the order. It was composed of three degrees, viz: First, The Temple; Second, the Grand Council; and the Third, Supreme Council.

The Temple degree, in some respects, resembled a County organization, and had a similar relation to the Grand Council, that the County does to the State. No person could become a member of the Grand Council who had not first been inducted into the Temple and elected to the "Grand Council." This body bore a similar relation to the "Supreme Council" that a State bears to the General Government. Sessions of the Grand Council were held almost every month during the years 1863-4. No considerable battle was fought that was not made an occasion for the assembling of this Council, and no political event of any importance transpired that did not receive the deliberation of this *de facto* legislative body.

The "Supreme Council," or third and highest degree, was formed after the pattern of the general Govern-

ment at Washington. The strength and significance of the Order was its Military character. The constitution of the Supreme Council provided that the Supreme Commander—the chief officer of that body, should be Commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the Order in the several States when called into actual service. Subordinate to the Grand Commander in a State, were the Maj. Generals, each of whom commanded his separate district.

In Indiana there were four Maj. Generals. In Illinois, where the organization of the Order was considered most complete, the members in each Congressional district composed a Brigade; the members in each County constituted a Regiment; and those in each township formed a Company. In Indiana each Company was divided into squads—each with its Chief—an arrangement to facilitate the guerrilla mode of warfare.

How complete was the design for effecting rebellion and revolution in the North! The whole machinery of a Government *de facto*, in disguise though it was,—with all its branches, both civil and military, in active operation for many months in our Northern cities, and almost within sight of the national capitol!

Early in the Spring of 1864, was made a partial expose of the “American Knights” in St. Louis, Mo. The public were startled by the disclosures in the news journals of the day, and the Order in all places was in dismay and trepidation, but the apprehensions of the conspirators were quickly quieted by the information from the Supreme Council that the Order would henceforth be known by another name, and that such radical

changes would be made as to defy recognition, to defeat further investigation by the authorities, and to enable the Order to do more effectual execution of its designs. The people in the meantime rejoiced in the belief that the agency of evil had been finally and fully extirpated.

An extra session of the Supreme Council "American Knights" was forthwith convened in New York, and fully attended. That body revised its ritual, changed the signs, passwords and grips for others, and called the organization thus remodeled "Sons of Liberty." It will be seen that the treasonable order had as many aliases as a State's prison convict, and for precisely the same reason.

The candidate for the order thus remodeled swore—I quote from their revised ritual—"ever to take up arms in the cause of the oppressed, in their own country first of all, against any monarch, prince, potentate, power or government usurped and found in arms and waging war against a people or peoples who had of their own choice, inaugurated a Government for themselves, in accordance with and founded upon the eternal principles of truth."

In fact the latter was the same order as the "American Knights" differing in name, and if possible more virulent and dangerous than the former. From the "Knights of the Golden Circle" sprang the "Knights of Honor," from whom sprang the "American Knights;" from the "American Knights" sprang the "Sons of Liberty." The paternal ancestor of all was the Devil! There is nothing like being able to trace one's pedigree!

The Order was composed of many classes of persons:—Educated scoundrels, political gamesters, ambitious, unscrupulous adventurers utterly devoid of patriotism; anarchists, ignorant, inhuman wretches in whom not even Darwin could regard the evolution as complete from brutes to men—chiefly the outcasts of Europe; weak, passive men—dupes of the evil and designing; impulsive men schooled in error, who would go to any extreme in the name of liberty; and men opposed to the Union, with too high a regard for personal safety and comfort to peril either upon the field of battle.

The first Supreme Commander of the Order, prior to its last change of name, was P. C. Wright of New York, who, in May 1864, was arrested and confined in Fort Lafayette. His successor in office was C. L. Vallandigham, who was also arrested in May, 1864, by order of Gen. Burnside and sent beyond the Union lines. He was lionized in Canada till he chose to return to Ohio. Rob't Halloway of Illinois is reported by Judge Advocate General Holt to have acted as Lieut. General or "Deputy Supreme Commander" during the absence of Vallandigham from the country.

The Grand Commander in Indiana was H. H. Dodd, who was tried in Indianapolis for conspiracy, and escaped from prison before the trial was finished. Since that time he has been Mayor of Fond-du-lac, Wis., and at present is an express agent in that city. The Grand Commander in Illinois was S. C. Judd, at one time candidate for the office of Lieut. Governor of Illinois, and later Postmaster of Chicago. In Missouri, the chief officers were C. L. Hunt, Grand Commander; G. F.

Smith, Grand Secretary; C. E. Dunn, Deputy Grand Commander, all three of whom were arrested, and all made confessions. In Kentucky, Judge Bullitt of the Court of Appeals was Grand Commander. The greater number of the chief and subordinate officers of the Order, as well as the principal members in the several states, are known to the Government. The Supreme Council of conspirators held a session in New York, Feb. 22nd, 1864, and called a special session in Chicago for August 27th of the same year. Of the special session we shall speak again.

The treasonable Order comprised a very large army of well armed and thoroughly drilled men—in readiness at any and all times for forcible resistance to the Union arms—a most formidable force against the life of the Government. The Temples and Councils of the Order were numerous scattered throughout the States of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, Kentucky and to a less extent in Michigan, Iowa, New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware and Tennessee.

In Indiana, the Order was most strongly centered at Indianapolis and Vincennes; in Illinois, at Chicago, Springfield and Quincy,—the Temples in the latter place having been founded by the notorious guerrilla chief, Jackman; in Ohio, at Cincinnati, Dayton and Hamilton—the “South Carolina” of the North; in Missouri, at St. Louis; in Kentucky, Louisville; in Michigan, at Detroit, whence communication with Vallandigham during his banishment, or rather his residence, at Windsor, was freely had by the leaders, by letters and interviews.

At the annual meeting of the "Supreme Council" in New York city, February 22, 1864, it was officially reported that the membership of the Order was between *eight hundred thousand and a million*, but Vallandigham, at his Dayton, Ohio, home, placed the *armed and drilled membership at HALF A MILLION!*

The force of the Order in Indiana was stated to be 125,000; in Illinois, 140,000; Ohio, 108,000; in Kentucky, 70,000; in Missouri, 40,000, and in Michigan and New York, 20,000 each. Guerrillas were gladly received as members of the Order. It was not till the Summer of 1863 that the conspirators began to organize as an armed body, and from that date it was rapidly placed upon a military basis and prepared for a revolutionary movement. In Ohio and Illinois the members of the Order were especially well armed with carbines, revolvers, etc. In Indiana, in March, 1864, there were in possession of the Order, six thousand muskets and sixty thousand revolvers, besides private arms. Gen. Carrington estimated that in February and March, 1864, thirty thousand guns and revolvers were brought into the State, and this is corroborated by invoices found by the authorities. So great was the demand for fire arms, that the dealers could not promptly fully supply them.

Had Vallandigham been arrested on his return to Ohio, the Order would have been supplied with arms from a point in Canada, near Windsor, where they were stored and ready for use.

A statement was made by Grand Commander Hunt, of Missouri, before his arrest, that shells and all kinds

of munitions of war, as well as infernal machines, were manufactured for the Order at Indianapolis, and the later discovery, in Cincinnati, of hand-grenades, conical shells and rockets, made for the "Sons," verifies his statements.

At the time of issue of the general order in Missouri, requiring the enrollment of all citizens, it was proposed by the conspirators in St. Louis to raise companies in the militia, to obtain as many Government arms and equipments as possible; it was proposed that all the members should enroll themselves in the militia, thus obtaining possession of United States arms, and having the advantage of drill and military instruction.

CHAPTER II.

SIGNS, LETTERS AND BATTLE SIGNALS. WHOLE COMPANIES OF THE UNION ARMY BROKEN UP BY TRAITORS. DISLOYAL JUDGES SEEK TO EMBARRASS THE GOVERNMENT. DESERTION ENCOURAGED. DRAFT RIOTS IN NEW YORK. REIGN OF TERROR. BURNING OF THE COLORED ORPHAN ASYLUM - TERRIBLE LOSS OF LIFE. HOWLING, BLOOD-THIRSTY MOB. ENROLLING OFFICERS SHOT. DRAFT RECORDS DESTROYED. DRAFTED CONSPIRATORS TO SHOOT THEIR FELLOW SOLDIERS. ATROCIOUS PLOT OF CONSPIRATORS AND GUERRILLAS. ASSASSINATION OF SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS. PLOT FOR A GENERAL UPRISING OF THE ORDER OF CONSPIRATORS WHEREVER EXISTING. CO-OPERATION UPON AN EXTENSIVE SCALE,

WITH THE SOUTHERN FORCES—STARTLING DETAILS—TELEGRAPHS TO BE CUT, RAILROADS TORN UP, CAPTURE OF OFFICERS, SEIZURE OF ARSENALS, SIMULTANEOUS RELEASE OF ALL PRISONERS OF WAR FROM NORTHERN CAMPS AND PRISONS—ATTACK TO BE MADE UPON CHICAGO BY STEAM-TUGS MOUNTED WITH CANNONS—EXPECTED ADVANCE OF LEE UPON WASHINGTON—SLAUGHTER OF UNION SOLDIERS BY CONSPIRATORS IN CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS—DESIGN FOR A NORTH-WESTERN CONFEDERACY—REVERSES OF UNION ARMS OCCASIONS FOR GREAT REJOICING BY THE ORDER—A MILITARY COMMISSION ARRAIGNS CONSPIRATORS IN INDIANA—THREE LEADERS OF THE ORDER SENTENCED TO THE GALLOWS.

Their system of signs of warning and danger, battle-signals, etc., was complete and always heeded. Their letters were in cypher and in ordinary writing, the real meaning being the reverse of the expression; this was shown by a circle with a line across it, at the close of the letter. The meetings of the Order in country places were generally held at night, in secluded localities, the approaches being carefully guarded by a line of sentinels or pickets, who could only be passed by means of a countersign.

Through the schemes of the Conspirators in Indiana, whole companies in the Union army were broken up,—a large detachment of a battery company, for instance,

upon one occasion deserting to the enemy with two of their guns. The camps were imbued with a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction with the service. The Adjutant General of Indiana set forth in his report, that the number of deserters and absentees returned to the army through the post of Indianapolis alone, in the month of December, 1862, was two thousand six hundred. Then disloyal judges discharged deserters upon writs of *habeas corpus*. One of such writs being refused by an officer, the Chief Justice of the State attached the officer for contempt, declaring that "the streets of Indianapolis might run with blood, but that he would enforce his authority against the President's order." At another time, United States officers who had arrested deserters in Illinois, were themselves arrested for kidnapping, and held for trial, while the disloyal judge discharged the deserters, acknowledging them to be such.

Soldiers were urged by the Order to desert, and assured of protection, and also urged to bring with them their arms, and if mounted their horses. Details sent to arrest them were forcibly resisted. Where arrests were effected, our troops were openly attacked and fired upon, on their return. Such attacks occurred in Morgan and Rush Counties, Indiana, and are especially referred to by Gen. Carrington.

In 1862 the "Knights of the Golden Circle," organized to resist the draft in the city of New York, and in the Western States, and in some places greatly embarrassed the Government. While the "K. G. C." were neither regularly armed, nor drilled in the use of

arms, their mode of assailing Union men was by private weapons, and gatherings of street mobs incited to deeds of violence by harrangues of the leaders, till, as an example of their fiendish work, it will doubtless be remembered that a draft of 300,000 men had been ordered, but the proceeding was so interrupted in the city of New York, by an infuriated mob, that drafting there was effectually prevented, and for *three entire days and nights* the city was in possession of a howling and murderous mob. A reign of terror prevailed. Neither the city authorities, nor the military called into service were able for three days to quell the riot. Officers were shot dead upon the street, in the discharge of their duties, and as the mob swelled in numbers, and with fury surged along, bent only upon deeds of violence, they attacked and burned the colored orphan asylum, causing the death of many human beings as well as the destruction of property. Not till more than a hundred of the rioters had been shot by the military force called upon, was the riot finally quelled and order restored.

In certain other cities the work of drafting was prevented, and the records destroyed, and so great the embarrassment of the Government, that but fifty thousand men in all were drafted, though three hundred thousand men had been called.

In 1862 and early in 1863 a number of enrolling officers were shot in Indiana and Illinois. In Blackford County, Ind., an attack was made upon the Court House and the books connected with the draft were destroyed. In Indiana two hundred persons were in-

dicted for conspiracy against the Government, and sixty of them were convicted.

Among members of the treasonable order in Indiana, as well as in Illinois and in other States, were men high in authority, members of the legislatures—occasionally a Senator and Representative, and also members of Congress, Judges, Prosecuting Attorneys, Jailors and Postmasters. Where members of the Order were forced into the army by the draft, they were counselled by their fellow conspirators, if desertion were not practicable, and they were obliged to go to the field, to turn their arms against their fellow soldiers, rather than the enemy.

Col. Sanderson, Provost Marshal General of the Department of Missouri, reported the department filled with rebel spies, all of whom belonged to the Order.

An atrocious plan of concert between members of the Order in Indiana and certain guerrilla bands of Kentucky was agreed upon and executed in the Spring of 1864. Some 2,500 or 3,000 guerrillas were thrown into the border counties, and assumed the character of refugees seeking employment. Being armed, they were secretly to destroy Government property wherever practicable, and subsequently to control the elections by force, prevent enlistments and aid deserters. Shortly before the arrest of W. A. Bowles, the senior of Major Generals of the Order in Indiana, he had been engaged in the preparation of "Greek Fire," to be used for the destruction of public property.

The cold-blooded assassination of Union citizens and soldiers was included in their devilish scheme of opera-

tions. G. B. Smith, Grand Secretary of the Order in Missouri, stated in his confession that "the secret assassination of United States officers, soldiers and Government employes, had been discussed in the Councils of the Order, and recommended." At a large meeting of the Order in St. Louis, Missouri, in June, 1864, it was proposed to form a secret police of members for the purpose of patrolling the streets of that city at night and killing every detective and soldier who could be readily disposed of. The proposal was finally rejected, not because of its fiendish character,—no voice being raised against its criminality, but because it was deemed premature!

The Order entertained a grand plan of a general armed uprising, and its co-operation on an extended scale, with the Southern forces. This plan was two-fold,—first, of a rising of the Order in Missouri, aided by a strong detachment from Illinois, and co-operation with a rebel army under Price; second, of a similar rising in Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky, and co-operation with a force under Breckenridge, Buckner, Morgan or some other commander, who was to invade the latter States.

Acting upon this plan, the Conspirators were, first of all, to cut the railroads and telegraphs, so that intelligence of the movement might not be sent abroad, and that the transportation of Federal troops might be delayed; then to seize upon the arsenals at Indianapolis, Columbus, Springfield, Louisville and Frankfort, and supply such of their number as were without arms; to kill or make prisoners of department, district and post

commanders, and release the rebel prisoners from northern prisons, and then unite with the Southern army at Louisville, or some other point in Kentucky. It was also proposed that an attack should be made upon Chicago, by means of steam-tugs, mounted with cannon. A similar course was to be taken in Missouri. This scheme had long occupied the minds of the Order. A rising was planned to occur in the Spring of 1864, simultaneously with an expected advance of the army of Lee upon Washington, but the plans of the enemy having been anticipated by the movements of the Union Generals, the rising of the Conspirators was necessarily postponed.

As a forcible illustration of the utter malignity and depravity which characterized the conspirators, may be recalled the wholesale assassination of Union soldiers by the Order, at Charleston, Illinois, in March, 1864. This concerted murderous assault upon a scattered body of men, mostly unarmed, was evidently designed for the purpose of destroying as many lives of Union soldiers as possible.

In relation further to the specific purposes of the Order must be mentioned the design for establishing a "Northwestern Confederacy."

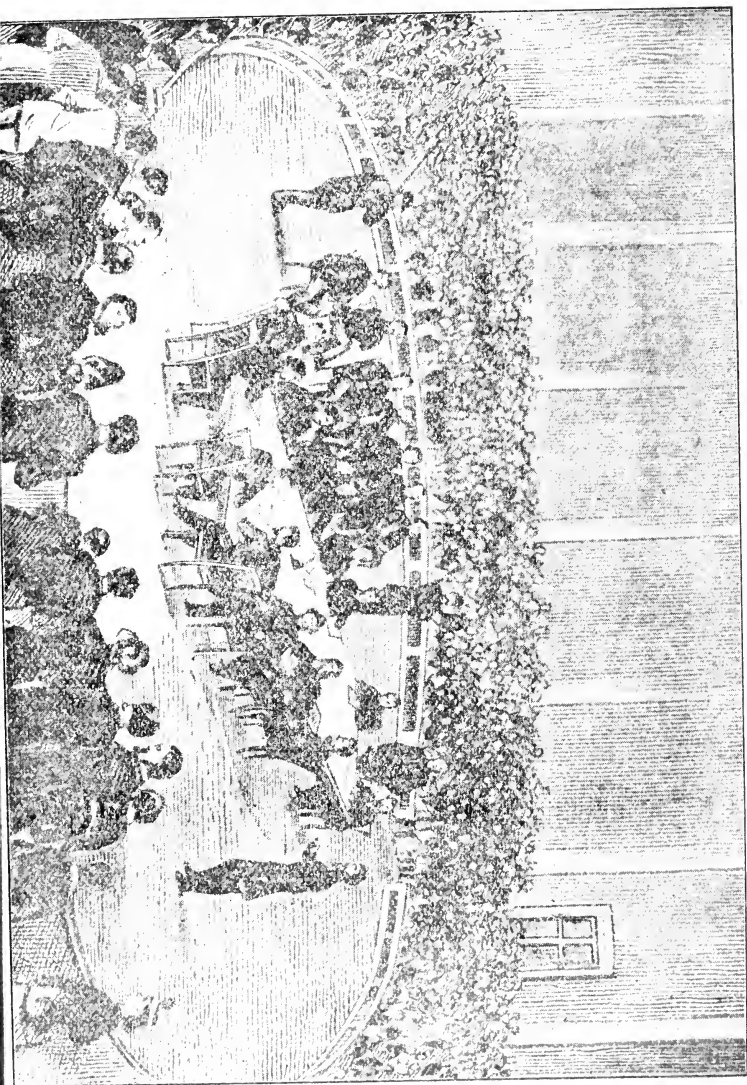
Hating New England and jealous of her influence and resources, and claiming that the interests of the West and South, naturally connected as they are through the Mississippi Valley, are identical, and actuated, further, by an intensely revolutionary spirit, as well as an unbridled and unprincipled ambition, they made the establishment of a "Northwestern Confeder-

acy" in alliance with the South, the grand aim of their plotting and conspiring. With this object in view, they gloated over every reverse of the armies of the Union, and desired that the rebellion would be protracted until the resources of the Government should be exhausted, its strength paralyzed, its currency hopelessly depreciated, and confidence everywhere destroyed; then from the anarchy, which, under their scheme was to ensue, the new Confederacy was to arise, which was either to unite itself with the South, or to form therewith, a close and permanent alliance.

Such the character, purposes and aims of the treasonable Order. In verification of what I have stated, I cite the sworn evidence of Gen. Burnside, Gen. Carrington, Judge Advocate General Holt, Col. Sanderson, Provost Marshal General of the department of Missouri, Gen. Rosecrans, Gen. Hovey and Gen. Burbridge; also of officers of the highest rank in the treasonable Order, who made confessions,—among whom was State Senator H. Heffren, who, for four years was a member of the Senate of Indiana, and when on trial for conspiracy against the Government, turned State's evidence.

In Indianapolis, Indiana, September, 1864, there were conducted trials for treason, disclosing the plans for establishing a Northwestern Confederacy, developing the origin, history and purposes of the treasonable Orders, presenting the Greek Fire shells, Hand grenades, rockets and infernal machines, etc., of the Conspiracy. The prisoners so tried were the Grand Commander and other chief officers of the Order, "American Knights," in Indiana, viz: Harrison H.

Dodd, William A. Bowles, L. P. Milligan, Stephen Horsey, Andrew Humphreys and H. Heffren. Dodd escaped from prison during the trial. He had been confined in an upper room in the Post Office building but by aid of outside parties, he effected his escape and was not recaptured. Bowles, Milligan and Horsey were convicted and sentenced to the gallows; Heffren testified against his comrades in crime. Andrew Humphreys was not sentenced.



CONSPIRATORS BEFORE THE MILITARY COMMISSION.

CHAPTER III.

SECESSION CONVENTION IN CHICAGO — THE
“SUPREME COUNCIL” — NOTABLES PRESENT —
CONFEDERATE REPRESENTATIVES TAKE AN IM-
PORTANT PART — DETAILS OF THE REVOLUTION-
ARY PLOT — “THE BEST LAID PLANS OF MICE
AND MEN AFT GANG AGLEE” — A TEMPLE
“SONS OF LIBERTY” OPEN FOR BUSINESS — INI-
TIATION OF MEMBERS — INSIDE VIEW OF A
TEMPLE — THE MEMBERS — INDIANA TO LEAD THE
VAN IN ESTABLISHING A NORTHWESTERN CON-
FEDERACY — SUPPOSED COMPLETE ABANDONMENT
OF THE PLOT — CHANGE OF BASE OF THE CON-
SPIRATORS FROM INDIANAPOLIS TO CHICAGO---

MORE ACTIVE, VIRULENT AND DANGEROUS THAN EVER BEFORE—NO SUSPICION OF DANGER FROM A SECRET FOE BY AUTHORITIES OR PEOPLE.

On July 20, 1864, a meeting of the Supreme Council "Sons of Liberty," the latest name of the Order of banded conspirators, was held in Chicago. Among notables present was a Maj. General of the Order, Col. Barrett, who had officiated as Grand Commander and held the position of Chief of Staff to the Supreme Commander of "American Knights," but who, on this occasion, appeared as Representative of the Confederate Government! There were also present Judge Bullitt, of the Court of Appeals, Kentucky, many military men and other notables, two of whom were later tried for treason, convicted and sentenced to the gallows. The Major General of the Order, who now appeared as Representative of the "Confederacy," made a formal proposition to unite Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky and Missouri with the "Southern Confederacy" through the agency of the Order. He stated that the Confederacy had authorized him to place at the disposal of the Order the sum of *Two million dollars*,—which had been captured from the Union army—to be used by the Order in preparing for an uprising against the Union Government; that it would be distributed among the Grand Commanders in the several States, to be expended for arms and ammunition.

The measure proposed was unanimously adopted, and so far as it was possible for this infamous body of traitors to unite the five States—Illinois, Indiana, Ohio,

Missouri and Kentucky—with the “Southern Confederacy,” it was done.

It was understood that Price and Buckner were to be the co-operative forces at the time of the uprising. It was further arranged that the Illinois forces of the Order were to liberate the rebel prisoners in that State, and to concentrate at St. Louis, Mo., to co-operate with Price's forces. The details of the Revolutionary Plot were fully, enthusiastically discussed, and unanimously accepted. Arrangements were made to release the prisoners of war in all Northern camps, and the army of veterans and conspirators were to unite with the Southern army. But “the best laid plans of mice and men, aft gang aglee,” and later we shall find the order of exercises materially changed. The Supreme Council, at that session, also made some suggestions and passed resolutions concerning the date of August 27th ensuing.

A quarter of a century ago, a person in passing down South Clark Street, Chicago, might notice upon the right, a large building of peculiar construction, bearing the name “Invincible Club Hall.” It was here the Temples of the “American Knights,” or, as later called, the “Sons of Liberty,” held their secret sessions, going stealthily up the stairs, singly or in groups of two or three, to avoid observation, and when inside the hall they were guarded by an outside sentinel, whose office it was to apprise them of danger, and to guard against its approach to the temple. But when the “American Knights” became “Sons of Liberty,” “the Temple of the Illini” removed from Clark Street to

the large building upon the corner of Randolph and Dearborn Streets, known as "McCormick's Block."

Every Thursday evening prior to the 8th of November, 1864, the windows of the hall, in the fifth story, gave evidence that the apartment was occupied, but further than this evidence, was not for the observer, unless perchance he was a member of the Order. Clambering up the long flights of stairs that led to the hall, on a Thursday evening, the party in quest of discovery would be not a little surprised at the class of men he would notice upon the march upward. He would involuntarily button his pockets, and keep as far distant from his fellow travellers as possible, for a more God-forsaken looking class of wretches never before entered a respectable building, and it is a matter of doubt whether so many graceless scoundrels were ever before convened in one building in Chicago, not excepting the Armory, when the police have been unusually active and vigilant. Occasionally a fine looking man would brush hastily by you, as if afraid of being discovered and recognized, not in the least conscience-stricken, perhaps, for his intentions. You would scarcely be willing to believe that he was the presiding genius of the room in the upper regions, and bound to dispense *light and wisdom* to the motley crowd, who would soon be filling the hall with fumes of cheap tobacco and the poorest quality of whiskey, mingled with the fragrance of onions, borne by gentle zephyrs from yonder open vestibule. Now comes a lawyer of some distinction, and here a Justice of the Peace, who wears a look of wisdom, and upon his face you may read that he is cer-

tain that "the despot Lincoln" and "Lincoln's hirelings" and "Lincoln's bastiles" are all going together beneath the wheels of the triumphal car drawn by the opposition.

But we need not try to find any great number of fine looking men in close proximity to the hall. Arriving on the fifth floor, and proceeding to a door, your friends casting furtive glances around and behind them, disappear by the door, and are lost to view; the room is as vacant as a last year's robin's nest; there is a door and a closed aperture, this and nothing more. Advancing to the door, and giving three raps, the slide, which covers the aperture, is moved aside and a face appears at the orifice. Whisper the word "Peace," or "Peoria," or whatever the monthly password may be, and the door is opened, and we find ourselves within the vestibule of the temple, surrounded by a group going through the preliminary exercises of initiation.

We see the candidate and sponsors, with hands uplifted, and listen to the reading from the ritual by an official, who is giving the new-comer his first dose of State's sovereignty and secession. This is so mystified and clouded with high sounding words that the poor devil nods every time the reader stops for breath, and this part of the ceremony is concluded; and the candidate,—respectable for the good clothes which he wears upon this occasion, as a rarity,—follows his conductor to another door, and is coming rapidly into good fellowship with men of high judicial standing.

Again they knock, and are challenged by an inside guardian, who lectures the rosy-faced "Son," who hav-

ing nodded sufficiently, is conducted to the "Ancient Brother in the West," so that the *Son*, reversing the order of nature, begins rising in the West. The "Ancient Brother" is a better reader, for here we find *brains* for the first time in the ceremony, as the leaders do all the thinking, unless perchance the ignorant wretches find themselves in prison, when they begin thinking for themselves.

On the North side of the room is another platform and desk, where a "guardian" sits and addresses the candidate, who is supposed to have lost his way, and to be set right by this guardian; and even if the candidate is thoroughly sober, he may be excused for losing his way, for it is a matter of doubt whether he was ever in such a labyrinth of words, as he has just heard from the Ancient Brother, who, having administered his dose, has required the poor candidate to make oath to all matters for which he has nodded, and to invoke upon his head the direst curses should he ever betray the secrets of the Order, and has been informed that if he should, in any way or manner, communicate to the outside world any secret of the Order, he will surely, sooner or later, meet a shameful death, prior to which he shall suffer all sorts of penalties! The new Brother, now happy in the thought that he has taken himself in out of the *draft*, advances to the center of the hall, and turning his back upon the Ancient Brother, stands facing the Grand Signior, whom he salutes by applying the palm of his right hand to his lips, then, turning the hand to his signiorship, and bringing his left hand across his breast, which salutation being returned, the

Son appears in the East, reflecting his effulgence all around!

The Grand Signior explains the ceremony, giving the new Brother another dose of secession, about as much as the poor fellow can carry, then gives the sign of distress,—by raising the right hand and crying *Ocoon* three times, which he says is made up of the name *Calhoun*—a name mentioned with great reverence. Thus closes the initiation of a Son of Liberty.

This organization, as a body, in Chicago, and everywhere else, was the gathering together to be wielded against the Government, of all the bitter and hostile elements in the Northern States. It was truly but a “whited sepulcher.” To the world, it exhibited nothing of its inner corruption, but concealed its acts, character and purposes,—its very name, its very existence; but within, it was filled with dead men’s bones and all manner of corruption. Over the doors of its temples should have been inscribed the maxim that the Romans used for their own city, in the days of the Inquisition,—“He who would live holily, depart from Rome. All things are allowed here, except to be upright.”

All things were allowed in these Temples, except to be loyal, true, faithful to the mother who had cherished and nourished them,—that mother, our beloved country!

The greater part of the *two million* fund was expended for arms and munitions of war. A thousand dollars of it, however, that was placed in the hands of the “wrong man,” was used to pay bounties to Union soldiers!

Bowles, of Indiana, made arrangements for arming with lances and revolvers some four thousand men. This "Major General," so full of malignity was a white haired old man whose appearance would have awakened pity that he was so corrupt, so degraded, but as I looked over this wide-spread and once beautiful and peaceful land and saw patriots with whitened locks, and millions of defenceless women and little children, with outstretched hands appealing to Almighty God for protection from the treason that would plot and the traitors who would destroy,—from the rebels, who, with fire and sword, would bring desolation upon all our fair land, and cause a wail of anguish and bereavement to ascend from every home,—what man, with a spark of patriotism, would not feel a broader duty, a broader sympathy with the suffering that the villain and such as he had caused, and that he and such as he would cause, if permitted to move forward in this work of treason, destruction, desolation and death!

The conspiracy and revolution, to have been inaugurated in Indiana, failed simply because the hand of the Government was at its throat, and the strong military arm of the Government had fastened upon it, its mailed hand had grappled it, and its giant-like grip was all the more determined, in that its dragon-like foe was both subtle and strong. It was the intent of the "Order" to make Indiana a "Second South Carolina," to lead the van in establishing a "Northwestern Confederacy!" It was but again laying down an abominable plot of rebellion, to be consummated in the Northern States, as it had been in the Southern; to blacken and desolate this

beautiful land of ours, as it had blackened theirs; to send up from every heart the wail of desolation and death that had followed in the wake of the phantom of secession.

These leaders were intelligent and influential, hence most dangerous. They went bawling about the country with inflaming speech and mock patriotism, arraigning the authorities as usurpers, tyrants and despots, poisoning the public heart against those in authority,—clamoring for peace, in the face of embattled armies,—fanning the embers of discord and revolt, kindling by incendiary appeals the fires of insurrection and revolution, and finally identifying themselves with the cause of rebels and traitors, and lending themselves in thought and deed, by night and day, in secret and in public, giving aid and comfort to the public enemy against their own Government! This is conspiracy and treason; it has all the disloyal lineaments of treasonable deformity, and neither eloquence nor art, nor painting nor poetry can change it; its office is discord, war and misery. Of such was the character of every prisoner tried and convicted by the Military Commission in Indianapolis.

With the confessions of some of the leaders, and the conviction of the prisoners; with the expose and the capture of arms, etc., it was confidently believed, both by the authorities and the people, that the treasonable orders had been fully and finally broken up, and that the great moral cancer had at last been effectually extirpated; and when the Commission closed its labors and its session, the members and people rejoiced in the supposed complete overthrow of the terrible plot, and

all were fully confident that danger from a secret enemy could never again exist in the land. But there could be no greater error, for, notwithstanding the general feeling of safety and security, at that very moment the conspirators were more active, more virulent and more vengeful than ever before; and with the change of base from Indianapolis to Chicago, the deadly work went on, and more rapidly the order increased in numbers, as will be seen by the thrilling details to be presented.

The Indiana pro rata of the two millions fund had been expended for arms and munitions of war, and these had been seized upon arrival by the orders of Governor Morton, to the great chagrin and numerous dire threats upon the part of the conspirators.

CHAPTER IV.

DEEDS AND DESIGNS OF INDIANA CONSPIRATORS
AS DISCLOSED AND CORROBORATED BY THE PRO-
CEEDINGS BEFORE THE MILITARY COMMISSION—
HARRISON H. DODD, WILLIAM A. BOWLES, L.
P. MILLIGAN, STEPHEN HORSEY, HORACE
HEFFREN AND ANDREW HUMPHREYS TRIED ON
CHARGE OF TREASON—EXPERIMENTS WITH
GREEK FIRE BY R. C. BOCKING, IN A SECRET
MEETING OF CONSPIRATORS—DESTRUCTION BY
GREEK FIRE OF U. S. TRANSPORTS AND STEAM-
ERS AT THE WHARF IN LOUISVILLE AND
FURTHER DOWN THE OHIO—"JUST THE THING
WANTED"—MANY BOXES OF FIRE ARMS AND
AMMUNITION BOUGHT IN NEW YORK, MARKED
"JEWELRY," SHIPPED TO INDIANAPOLIS, AND

SEIZED BY THE AUTHORITIES—ASSESSMENTS OF THE ORDER FOR ARMS—FROM WHENCE THESE WERE TO COME.

The following details of the deeds and designs of the Indiana Conspirators are of special interest, and are fully corroborated by sworn evidence before the Military Commission, convened at Indianapolis in the Autumn of 1864, for the trial of several of the leaders of the Order "American Knights."

The first person placed upon trial was Harrison H. Dodd of Indiana, who was charged with conspiring with members of "American Knights" having a civil and military organization, the design and purpose of the Order being to overturn the Government of the United States. It was charged that the prisoner, H. H. Dodd, did conspire with William A. Bowles, J. F. Bullitt, L. P. Milligan, D. F. Yeakle, Andrew Humphreys and John C. Walker, severally holding military positions and rank in the secret treasonable order "American Knights," to seize by force the United States and State arsenals at Indianapolis, Ind., Columbus, O., and to release the prisoners of war in Northern prisons. It was further charged that Dodd, acting as "Grand Commander" of Indiana, so styled, did communicate with the enemies of the United States with intent that they should invade Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. He was charged with inciting insurrection and holding the office of "Grand Commander" or "Commander-in-Chief" of all Military forces for Indiana in the Order American Knights, of appointing

Major Generals of the Order, and that he did recognize the "Supreme Commander" as Commander-in-Chief of all Military forces of the Order in the United States; he was also charged with preventing enlistments in the armies of the United States, etc.

Felix G. Stidger, U. S. detective, testified that Dr. Gatling, the inventor of the gun with revolving rifle barrels, mounted on wheels and known as the "Gatling Gun," was a member of the Order. He testified also that Bowles was in Louisville, Ky., in June, 1864, superintending the Greek Fire arrangement, which was invented by R. C. Bocking, a German or Belgian of Cincinnati, a Captain of Artillery U. S. Volunteers. The Order was to use this Greek Fire for destroying Government property. Both Dodd and Bowles told Stidger that the Order "American Knights" was formed for opposing the United States Government in every possible way by force of arms, and expected to co-operate with the rebel forces. At Louisville Bowles was present at the experiments with the Greek Fire, and Bocking explained the hand grenades and machine for destroying boats and Government buildings, saying that it will set these on fire at a given time, something on the principle of a clock, and wound up for the time designated, when it will surely fire the boat or building in which it may be left. The machine, put into a box or trunk, might be left without exciting suspicion.

Bowles told Stidger that two boats, laden with Government stores, were destroyed at a wharf in Louisville by Greek Fire, and that there had been fires before caused by Greek Fire, operated by the Order. Stidger

testified that he received from Dodd the whole programme of the uprising of the Order, and of the plot to seize United States and State arsenals, the liberation of prisoners of war, and concentration of members of the Order. Witness testified that Judge Bullitt went to the session of the Conspirators' Supreme Council, July 20th, in Chicago, and added—"Dodd had been to New York, and on the day of his return I learned from him that the programme concerning the uprising had all been decided upon. He told me to engage twenty or thirty good runners, who would notify the Order, and have them ready when Judge Bullitt got back. I saw Bullitt on the train. He told me the programme was all arranged. He gave me the names of W. R. Thomas, Jailor at Louisville, and other persons to send to him, and to them he would impart the programme. Before seeing them, Judge Bullitt was arrested and sent to Fort Lafayette. Dodd told me the plan agreed upon in Chicago; and said they were to seize Camp Morton, Camp Chase, Camp Douglas, and the depot of prisoners at Johnson's Island, to seize the arsenals in Indianapolis, Springfield and Chicago, and arm the released prisoners of war with the weapons seized, also arm the members of the Order, and organize them for the 15th or 16th of August, the day fixed upon for the uprising. Each commander was to concentrate his forces in Louisville, and they were to have the co-operation of Colonel Syphert and Col. Jessee of the Southern army, who were then to capture Louisville, Jeffersonville and New Albany. The meeting or the Supreme Council was called for the first of July but was postponed

owing to the postponement of the National Democratic convention. Dodd was "Grand Commander" of the Order in Indiana. Bowles was a "Major General" commanding one of the districts of the State. David T. Yeakle held the same rank as Bowles, but was superseded by Walker; so that Walker and Milligan held the same rank as Bowles. Judge Bullitt was Grand Commander of the Order in Kentucky. The council meeting at Chicago was composed of Grand Commanders and Major Generals. Stidger was informed by Piper of Springfield, whom he met in the Grand Council of Kentucky, and who was on the staff of Vollandigham, the Supreme Commander, that the time fixed for the general uprising in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky was the 3d or 17th of August — the date to be positively fixed by Vollandigham. His orders were to be obeyed above the orders of any other officer."

Stidger, the witness, examined the roll of names of the Order of Indiana for the purpose of pointing out those whom he recognized, and singled out the names of W. M. Harrison, "Grand Secretary," and Joseph Ristine, auditor of the State. He also identified State Senator "Hon." Horace Heffren, as Deputy Grand Commander of the State. He had formerly been Lt. Colonel of an Indiana regiment. He informed Stidger that the Order was for the purpose of co-operating with the rebels. Piper told the witness that James A. Barrett, formerly of St. Louis, later of Chicago, was Chief of Staff to Vollandigham, and that Capt. Hines of the Confederate army, also on Vollandigham's staff



DEPOT OF PRISONERS OF WAR, JOHNSONS ISLAND, SANDUSKY BAY.

—had charge of releasing prisoners of war on Johnson's Island; that James A. Barrett had a communication from Vallandigham and Bowles, giving him charge of releasing the prisoners at Rock Island.

Hines was then in Canada waiting for the time to come to begin his work at Johnson's Island; later Hines was captured with Morgan. Stidger, the witness further testified—"On the 29th or 30th of June, I saw, at the Louisville Hotel, in Bocking's room, a shell, about the size of a 32 pounder, of conical shape. The butt of the shell, being unscrewed, showed an interior shell which contained an iron case for the charge of powder. Bocking explained it: "The space between the innermost case and the inner shell was to be filled with Greek Fire. The space between the inner and outer shell was to give room for it to move, so as to explode the percussion cap, on its being thrown or striking upon any object. This was to be used for destroying Government property—for the use of these conspirators, who said it was *just the thing they wanted*. I also saw a spherical shell, which, unscrewed in the center, showed a smaller spherical shell inside. Bocking explained the working of it: The inner shell was to be filled with powder, and a cap placed on each of the nine nipples, to be seen on its surface; and round a glass vial, which this inner shell contained, was placed the powder. The glass vial contained the Greek Fire. On being thrown and striking on any object, it would explode, ignite and set on fire whatever it touched. It was designed to be used by the hand, and required very careful handling to prevent exploding, as it would do from the slightest blow.

I was told by Dr. Bowles that the Greek Fire had been used for the destruction of Government property; that two boats had been destroyed at Louisville, and a number of boats down the river, by the same means, in April and May. Bocking explained the manner in which the Greek fire could be used outside of the shells. It might be kept in a thin glass vial, and when one wanted to destroy an object, all he had to do was to throw the vial against it, by which the liquid would be scattered about, and it would set on fire anything it touched. It might be made to ignite instantly, or some time after it was scattered."

The commands of the chiefs of the Order were to be above the commands of all others, and above all laws of the United States, in fact supreme. It was resolved by the Conspirators to assassinate U. S. detective Coffin, and Stidger was sent from Louisville to give Dodd and Bowles the opinion of Judge (Grand Commander) Bullitt, which was that it was necessary for the interests of the Order, that Coffin should be put out of the way. Dr. Gatling was present at the Grand Council when the discussion occurred concerning the assassination of Coffin. The witness further testified that Piper professed to have official orders of military character from Vallandigham, and that Vallandigham had knowledge of the insurrectionary movement and sanctioned it, had supreme control of it, and the day of the uprising was at his discretion; and that he approved the action of the Supreme Council held in Chicago.

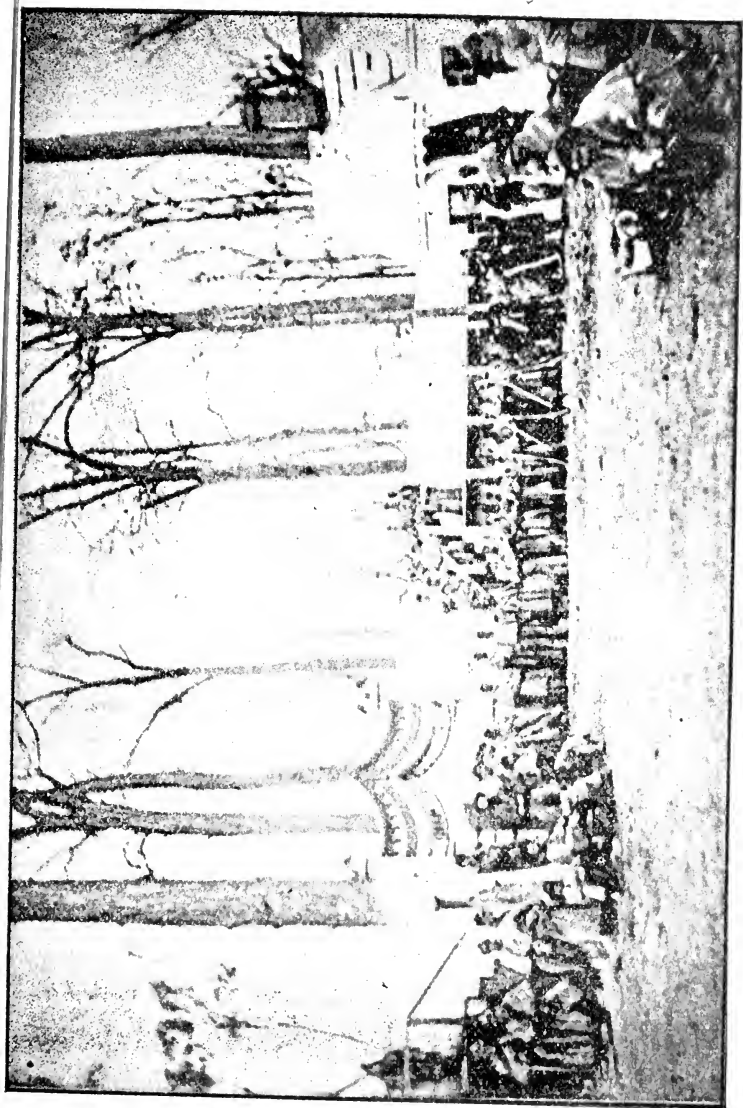
Joseph Kirkpatrick, of Park Place, New York, dealer in fire arms, testified that he sold 290 pistols to

"L. Harris," and contracted to sell him 2,500 revolvers and 135,000 pistol cartridges; that later he saw these arms at the arsenal near Indianapolis; in the same boxes in which they were packed in New York, and marked "J. J. Parsons, Indianapolis, Indiana. Harris marked them himself, in the presence of Kirkpatrick, paid for the arms, and gave the impression that the weapons were to be shipped to the California market.

William Clayton, of Warren County, Illinois, testified that assessments were made upon the Order for the purchase of arms, which were to come from Nassau to Canada and thence to the Order. He corroborated the former evidence that all commands affecting the Order were to proceed from C. L. Vallandigham, "Supreme Commander." The next highest officer in command, according to the witness, was Robert Holloway of Mercer County, Illinois.

Wesley Trauter of Martin County, Indiana, formerly a soldier of the 17th Indiana Volunteers, who was with Sherman's army, testified that he joined the Order of the "Circle of Honor," ["American Knights" under another name] at the solicitation of Stephen Horsey of Martin County; that they swore to support the cause of the Confederacy "north or south, at all hazards," and that if they "revealed the secrets of the order, they were to have their hearts torn out, and bodies cut into pieces," etc. It was said in the Order, that "H. H. Dodd was to be Governor of the State, in place of Morton, who was to be put out of the way."

The witness added, "It was said we must have our old rifles and shot guns fixed up as best we could, and



CAMP MORTON NEAR INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

that we would have revolvers shipped to us. Two boxes of revolvers came, marked as "jewelry" so I was told by Stephen Horsey. The Indianians were to seize Indianapolis and the arsenal, and distribute the arms to members of the Order. At the same meeting, it was said Morton was to be put out of the way, that he had but a short time to live after the visit to the arsenal. I left the Order because its principles did not suit me. It was recognized as "Knights of the Golden Circle." Dr. Bowles was to be our General, to lead us South, but I was not alarmed at the prospect of serving under Bowles. I knew he would *run* if there was danger, as he did in Mexico, and that we would be safe.

The witness withdrew from the Order and disclosed its designs to Capt. Henley, by whom the statement was sent to Gen. Carrington.

The prisoner Harrison H. Dodd, escaped from prison, at this stage of his trial, and was never recaptured. The following extract from the report of Col. A. J. Warner, Commander of the Post Indianapolis, to Capt. A. C. Kemper A. A. G., gives all the particulars known of the escape of H. H. Dodd, on the morning of October 7th, 1864:

"Harrison H. Dodd, who was on trial in this city before the Military Commission, on a charge of treason and conspiracy, made his escape from the room occupied by him in the third story of the Postoffice building, a few minutes before 4 o'clock this morning. He escaped through the window, opening on Pennsylvania street, by means of a rope, attached to an iron rod, which was held fast between his bed and the iron window-shutter.

A ball of twine had been conveyed to him by some of his friends who had been permitted to visit him, by means of which, he had drawn up to his window a large rope, furnished by some persons outside, who assisted in his escape. There was no guard on the outside of the building, and the attempt was not detected, until the prisoner had reached the ground and escaped. The street lamps near by had been previously darkened, to conceal the movement.

When Mr. Dodd petitioned Brevet Major General Hovey, Commander of the District, to be allowed to occupy a room in the Postoffice building, instead of being closely confined in the Military prison, he gave his parole of honor that he would make no attempt to escape. His brother, also, pledged his word, and stated he would risk all he was worth, that H. H. Dodd would not try to escape, if this privilege were granted. Measures, therefore, that would have been taken to prevent escape by placing guards on the outside as well as within the building, were not under the circumstances resorted to in this case."

H. H. DODD HEARD FROM.

The following letter from H. H. Dodd was received nearly two months after his escape:

WINDSOR, C. W., Nov. 23, 1864.

Editors of the Cincinnati Enquirer,

Gentlemen:

"In your issues of yesterday, in an editorial article, I notice the following language: "By the way, it would be instructive to learn where the money came from with

which Mr. Dodd's pistols were purchased; and furthermore how Mr. Dodd—crowded as Indiana is with spies and secret policemen, every one of whom knew him, or had his portrait in possession—contrived to escape to Canada, with his pockets full of the effigies of the President and Secretary of the Treasury.”

The only force and effect of which is to convey the idea that I have been acting in the interest of the Administration party, and have been paid for my services, and allowed to escape through their instrumentality. This unfounded assault upon my character, originated with some irresponsible correspondent of the *Chicago Times*, at Indianapolis, and which has since been made the basis of editorial comment in the *Sentinel* and *Enquirer*, and thus, intentionally or otherwise, you are giving credence and publicity to the “*complicity with Morton*,” dodge, gotten up by a coterie of “Sons,” who have seen fit to take the benefit of the “baby act.”

I certainly have no objection to your whipping your abolition contemporaries, or to your censuring and condemning the men in power, or their measures; but I must enter my solemn protest against the use of my sore back as a medium to do the one or the other. Neither do I complain of comments upon my public or private acts, political principles, combinations or associations, as against abolitionism, terrorism, despotism, usurpation, oppression and military dictation; nor upon any sins of commission or omission in this direction. I am ready to hear “charges and specifications,” of attempted assassinations, of estimates upon my ability,

intentions or purposes, and this sort of thing; make me out an enemy to society from either weakness or ambition; call me a revolutionist, or what not, I am willing to leave to time to prove that "*the worst enemy to the peace of mankind is he who renders a revolution necessary.*" But to charge me with being a "*spy and informer,*" that I would become a *decoy* to lure unsuspecting associates into the boiling cauldron of "crime, hatred and malice," all for the "effigies of the President and Secretary of the Treasury," is to charge me with a heinous crime against mankind, that I cannot permit to be laid at my door—and I may not remain silent, when the editor of the *Enquirer*, from personal knowledge knows me incapable of playing such a role.

Do you wish sincerely to know in regard to the pistols? You will recollect that a gentleman in New York claimed them as his individual property, and by reference to my card, published on the 5th day of September last, you will find further explanation as to my connection with said pistols. It was not then considered even a crime by Democratic journals to buy and sell, or to keep and bear arms. The amount involved was not so large as to raise the inquiry—"Where the money came from?"

My escape was no great exploit; not sufficiently so, at least, to raise the question of "How was it contrived?" A little affair of this sort could be managed as well as the purchase of a few hundred pistols, without the intervention of the Government or any of its agents. You do me a great injustice when you speak of me as some notorious criminal, personally known to all thief-

catchers, and whose picture every detective in the country carried about with him. The fact that I have safely arrived in a country where the "majesty of the law" is respected, fully proves the contrary; for how could I pass through a perfect forest of detectives, secret policemen, spies, soldiers in uniform, soldiers in citizens' dress—in female attire, dressed as hod carriers, as peddlers, as white washers, teamsters, wood-choppers, spread all through the county of Marion and adjoining counties, swarming in the cities of Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit, and upon every railway train; yet simply because I was unknown to them, and because they did not have my picture in their pockets, I passed through them all unnoticed.

It is no longer necessary to attack my honor, to prove the Democratic "leaders" in no way connected with the "Dodd Conspiracy." They are no more responsible for my acts, than I am for theirs, and I am perfectly willing that the acts of some of them, in this case, should be the standard, if the rest of them will assent.

But the simple object of this note, however, was to have you give my denial to the charge of "complicity with Morton." This is all I ask, so that the Democratic masses can see it over my own signature. I care not who avers it. I am satisfied to risk the question of veracity. If you are incredulous, just inquire of Major Burnett, General Hovey or Colonel Warner, and methinks the energetic replies will be entirely satisfactory. It may be that I committed an error in abandoning the "Commission." Be that as it may, I regret exceedingly

to have made any plea, either to the jurisdiction or to the indictment, or to have, in any manner, recognized the tribunal. The charge that I violated a parole is, like all the rest, utterly false. I was in solitary confinement every moment from the time of my arrest until the escape.

Respectfully Yours, etc.

H. H. DODD."



HON. O. P. MORTON, WAR GOVERNOR OF INDIANA.

CHAPTER V.

BALEFUL INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL SECRET SOCIETIES—A GOVERNMENT DETECTIVE—TRIAL OF OTHER LEADING CONSPIRATORS—VALLANDIGHAM'S RETURN TO OHIO—THE HALTER A PREAMBLE TO A PLATFORM—LINCOLN'S SPIES—THE REVOLUTIONARY SCHEME.

Mr. M. M. Ray, the able counsel for H. H. Dodd, in his argument in reply to the Judge Advocate's motion that the Commission proceed to the finding and sentence of the escaped prisoner, made use of the following language:—

“In approaching the evidence of the case, we are almost subdued and awed into silence, by considering the perilous precipice on which society in the Northwest so

lately hung, if the testimony in the plenitude of its details, or even in its general scope, is to be believed. We do not feel called upon, as counsel for the defendant, to apologize for these or any other secret political organizations, and especially in revolutionary times like these. But we do feel called upon as a mark of respect to this court, and in the interest of a common country, to place on record our unqualified reprobation of all secret political orders, by whatever name or party affiliation, as, at best, but pestilential hotbeds for the most incendiary political heresies, leading to the worst fruits of Jacobinism. It is in vain for the purest and wisest patriot to offer words of truth and patriotism to the people, if they conflict with the decrees of a secret, irresponsible, bloody tribunal. Through the machinery of secret organizations, the worthless and irresponsible place-hunters come to the top, get the popular ear, and have more weight and influence in directing the popular mind, than all the lessons of history or the appeals of our most learned, independent, unselfish and trusted public men. Who then that has had the sagacity to detect the baleful influence of secret societies in the whole political atmosphere for two years past, can find any apology or palliation for them? We offer none."

Gen. Burnett, Judge Advocate of the Commission, in his powerful, logical and eloquent argument, thus referred to F. G. Stidger, the witness: "I wish to say one word with respect to the testimony of the witness Stidger. No member of this Commission, and I think I may say that no person sat in this hall who did not

believe that the witness testified to the truth. True, he was a Government detective, but such a work can be engaged in and accomplished with a good intent and purpose. It is a species of strategy fully justified by the circumstances of the case, and is not unlike that to which our commanding Generals in the field often resort, in their efforts to deceive the enemy. They send false messages, write and forward false missives, on purpose to mislead them. They employ every means in their power to induce them to believe in and rely upon a certain state of things the opposite of that which really exists. Stidger engaged in the work of revealing the designs of this treasonable organization, with the express purpose of giving information to the Government and saving bloodshed, and possibly National disaster. In such a cause, every man, loyal and true to his Government, will stand by him; and *it ill becomes any man to withhold that meed of praise which is his due for the services rendered the Government.*"

October 21st, 1864, a Military Commission convened in Indianapolis, Indiana, proceeded to the joint trial of William A. Bowles, Andrew Humphreys, Horace Heffren, Lambdin P. Milligan and Stephen Horsey, all of Indiana, on the charges of conspiracy against the Government of the United States; affording aid and comfort to Rebels against the authority of the United States; inciting insurrection; disloyal practices; and violation of the laws of war.

William M. Harrison testified that he was Grand Secretary of the Grand Council "American Knights." The first knowledge he had of the Order was at Terre

Haute, Indiana, by invitation of H. H. Dodd. P. C. Wright had charge of the meeting. On the 10th of September, at a meeting of the Grand Council in Indianapolis, Dr. Bowles was initiated. At that meeting H. H. Dodd was elected Grand Commander, and witness was elected Grand Secretary. Witness testified that he destroyed all the papers of the organization after the exposition of the Order in the Indianapolis *Journal*; that the military bill so destroyed provided for the division of the State into four districts, the "Northeastern," "Northwestern," "Southeastern," and "Southwestern," for the organization of the whole military force, number and size of regiments, duties of officers, etc. A regiment was to consist of nine companies of infantry, one company of rifles, and one section of artillery.

The bill provided for election of Major Generals, and Major Generals should appoint Brigadiers, the Brigadiers appoint Colonels, Colonels appoint Captains, and Captains the subordinate officers. David T. Yeakle and Andrew Humphreys, Lambdin P. Milligan, Mr. Conklin and William A. Bowles were appointed Major Generals. Another meeting of the Council was held in November, Harrison H. Dodd presiding; W. H. Harrison, Grand Secretary; present L. Milligan, J. J. Bingham, Dr. Bowles and delegates from thirty counties.

The next meeting of this Council was held in Indianapolis, the 16th or 17th of February, 1864; present Horace Heffren, perhaps L. P. Milligan and Dr. Bowles. Heffren and Bowles made speeches. At that meeting H. H. Dodd was elected Grand Commander, Horace

Heffren, Deputy Grand Commander, and W. H. Harrison Grand Secretary. The election of Major Generals took place at that meeting. Humphreys and Milligan were elected in their districts, Dr. Bowles in the Southwest and Walker in the Northwest district. All officers were elected yearly.

At the meeting in September John G. Davis, D. R. Eckles, Milligan, Humphreys and Dodd were elected delegates to the Supreme Council in Chicago. At the regular annual meeting of the Order on the 16th or 17th of February, an address was read by Grand Commander Dodd, which was subsequently printed in pamphlet form and circulated to the members of the Order in each county*. The name of the Order was changed to "Sons of Liberty" by the Supreme Council February 22nd, 1864, and this change was made known to the subordinate lodges by a circular from the office of the Grand Secretary. The Supreme Commander of the "Sons of Liberty" exercised control over the "American Knights," for it was the same organization with a different name. The Grand Commander of Indiana was Grand Commander of the "American Knights," and exercised the same powers over the "Sons of Liberty." Persons having taken the obligation of the "American Knights" were not required to re-obligate themselves or take the obligation of the "Sons of Liberty." A large committee of the Grand Council of Indiana was appointed to proceed to Hamilton, Ohio, on the 15th day of June, the *occasion of Mr. Vallan-*

*Extracts from that address will be found under the heading of "Treason"

digham's return to Ohio. The strength of the Order in June, 1864, according to the evidence of the Grand Secretary, was 15,000, and in September 18,000. The organization so far as reports had been received existed in the counties of Marion, Marshall, Allen, Huntington, Laporte, Fulton, Cass, Harrison, Washington, Orange, Grant, Madison, Crawford, Posey, Vanderburg and Warriek. It was understood that the Order was better organized in Illinois than in any other State in the Union.

The witness being questioned concerning arms received in Indianapolis, replied: "Walker came to my house one night and said he wished me to say to Parsons that there would be some boxes arrive in a day or two which he desired him to take care of. The next day I asked Parsons if Dodd had informed him concerning the boxes; he said he had. In three or four days I went to Dodd's office and saw on the sidewalk five or six boxes addressed "J. J. Parsons, Indianapolis, Ind." Parsons was getting the boxes into the building — on the second floor in a back room. I asked him what the boxes contained; he said pistols. Parsons was a 'Son of Liberty.' Ten boxes were then received and twenty-two boxes two weeks later. I understood that the arms were seized by the authorities."

THE HALTER A PREAMBLE TO A PLATFORM.

A letter of which the following is a copy, dated Huntington, May 9th, 1864, addressed to "Gen. H. H. Dodd" and signed "L. P. Milligan" was introduced in evidence:

"HUNTINGTON, IND., May 9th, 1864.

Gen. H. H. Dodd—Dear Sir: Yours of the 2nd inst. came when I was absent at Notre Dame, and I have now just read it, and am unable to make any definite reply. I will barely allude to what may afford a text for reply in future. As to the Gubernatorial question, it may not have occurred to you the unenviable connection in which my name has been used. It was announced in consequence of the declination of the Hon. J. E. McDonald to be a candidate, conceding that if he was a candidate there was no desire to use my name; now I understand he is; hence I am not called upon by any public notice to be such. But waiving all this as the result of mere accident, and not proffered as an indignity to me, by placing me second in talents and patriotism to J. E. McDonald, there is still more grave difficulty in the way. The announcement of my name for Governor was made by McDonald's friends. Now, it is due to them that I should decline, because I could not represent them; there is no similarity between us, and all this is not so discouraging as the fact that men of the stamp of Judge Hanna, whose profession of principles I could represent, prefer McDonald on account of his supposed availability; it detracts much from my confidence in our ultimate success.

When men of so much seeming patriotism are willing for mere temporary purposes to abandon the great principles of civil liberty, what will those of less pretensions do, when the real contest comes, when life and property all depend on the issue, *when bullets instead of ballots are cast and when the halter is a preamble to our*



GEN. H. L. BURNETT,

Judge Advocate of the Military Commission who tried the Con-
spirators and Assassins.

platform? For unless Federal encroachments are arrested in the States by the effort as well of the legislators as the executive, then will our *lives and fortunes* follow where our honors will have gone before.

I am willing to do whatever the cause of the Northwest may require, or its true friends may think proper, but I am as well convinced that upon mature reflection they will not ask me to obtrude myself upon the public, nor will they ask me to be McDonald's contingent. I have great confidence in your good hard man *sense*, and cool judgment, hence I find it difficult to disregard your advice in the matter, and before giving to the world my position on the question, I wish to see you personally.

Yours truly,

L. P. MILLIGAN.

N. B. My last was confidential; this is more so, because I have given vent to feelings that are purely private.

L. P. MILLIGAN."

The following letter, written by the witness Harrison as Grand Secretary, to a Secretary of a County Temple was admitted as evidence:

"INDIANAPOLIS, Aug. 20, 1864.

Mr. H. I. Stewart, Boundary, Ind. Dear Sir:

Yours under date 17th inst. is at hand. Any information that you may desire can be had by sending an accredited person here. Written communications are *played out*, as all letters are opened and read by Lincoln's spies and hirelings during their transmission through the mails.

Yours truly, H."

Grand Secretary Harrison testified: "I received information from Harrison H. Dodd that there was a design in progress or in contemplation for the release of the prisoners of war confined at this point, at Chicago and at Rock Island, Ills. That plan had not been fully decided on; but if decided on, he was to have charge of the release of the prisoners at this point. He desired to have a Democratic mass meeting called about the 16th of August, and used his influence to induce the Democratic State Central Committee to call that meeting. If they did so, he intended to send out circulars to the members of the Order in the various counties, authorizing the members to come up to that meeting armed. If the meeting had been held at that time, there would have been an uprising.

He stated this on Friday evening of July 29th, the same evening that the *Journal* bulletin announced an expose of the Order for the next morning. This was after the Chicago meeting. I understood him that the whole plot had been arranged at Chicago. He stated that the released prisoners were to aid in the uprising here, and that success meant revolution to take place in Indiana. The uprising was to take place by the aid of the rebel prisoners, who were to be released through his instrumentality, and that of the persons who came in to the meeting to be held here on the 16th, they were to overturn the State government. He said if the thing was decided on, he was to surprise the camp and seize the arsenal, and, in the confusion and excitement of the moment, effect the success of the plan. He thought he could do this with about one hundred and fifty men.

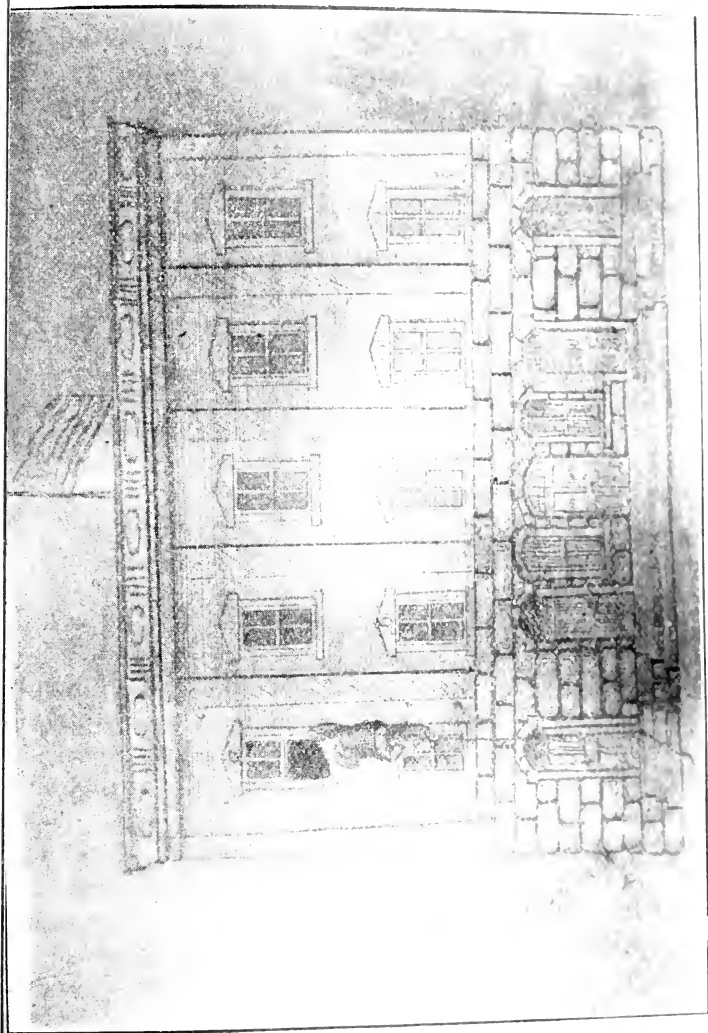
The witness gave an exposition of the signs, grips, passwords, etc. The members were instructed that the *acorn* was the universal emblem of the order, representing strength, growth and durability.

The Grand Secretary continued—"From what Dodd communicated to me, I was impressed that the revolutionary scheme included Illinois, as well as Indiana, and if circumstances favored, the whole organization was to participate in it. Dodd was to take charge of the liberation of prisoners at Camp Morton, near Indianapolis. The Military Bill adopted in the Council referred to, was introduced in pursuance of injunctions of P. C. Wright, at that time Supreme Commander. The Military bill was in Dodd's hand-writing. I saw Humphreys at the meeting of the Council June 14th. It convened in the Marion County Temple, in the fourth story of Dodd's building.

Wesley Tranter, a witness for the Government, testified—"I saw Stephen Horsey at a meeting of the Order—was initiated by him. I was at a meeting of "Knights of the Golden Circle" where something was said about putting Morton out of the way. A man who signed himself "M. D." was to pay Governor Morton a visit about the 26th or 27th of March and he was to *live but a short time afterward*. There was to be a raid on this place by the members of the Order about the 6th of April; we were to arm ourselves and be ready; we were to take this place and release the prisoners; we were to go at the "blue coats." It was said that when we made the raid on this place, the Order in Illinois were to make a raid on Springfield, and

those in Missouri on St. Louis. Washington was to be attacked, and Forrest was to make a dash into Kentucky. In case Governor Morton was assassinated, H. H. Dodd was to succeed him, according to what was said at the meeting.

Joseph J. Bingham, a witness for the Government, testified as follows:—"Am editor of the *Daily and Weekly Indiana State Sentinel*; I joined the "American Knights" in October, 1863, in the Military Hall on Washington street; the hall was leased by the Democratic Club of this city, and it is my impression it was under their control at the time. I joined the order at the solicitation of Dodd, who said it was political but not partizan, and was to sympathize with the principles of the Democratic party. Dodd informed me that he had appointed me a delegate to the State Council, which was to meet in November, 1863. I attended, and took what they called a Council degree. Dodd presided and Harrison was Secretary. I saw there Mr. Ristine and Mr. Milligan the accused. About the 2nd or 3rd of August Mr. Dodd said to me that it had been determined, at a meeting or Council, and that arrangements had been made to release the prisoners on Johnson's Island; at Camp Chace, near Columbus, Ohio; at Camp Morton and also at Camp Douglas, and that the prisoners at Camp Douglas were then to go over and release those at Rock Island. At the same time, there was to be an uprising at Louisville, at which the Government stores, etc., were to be seized. I looked at the man in astonishment. I thought it was a wild dream; I could not believe it possible. I studied a moment



SONS OF LIBERTY ARISE! THE GRAND COMMANDER COMING DOWN

and said—"Mr. Dodd, do you know what you are going to undertake? Do you know the position of military affairs here at this post? Do you think you can accomplish this scheme with any number of unarmed and undisciplined men you can bring here? He said I was the only person he had communicated this to in the city. I asked—"how is this revolution to take place and nobody know anything about it?"

Witness then testified to a meeting on the street with Michael C. Kerr who said, "the devil's to pay in our section of the State; and people of Washington, Harrison and Floyd counties and that neighborhood had got the idea that a revolution was impending. The farmers were frightened and were selling their hay in the fields and their wheat in the stacks, and all the property that could be, was being converted into greenbacks."

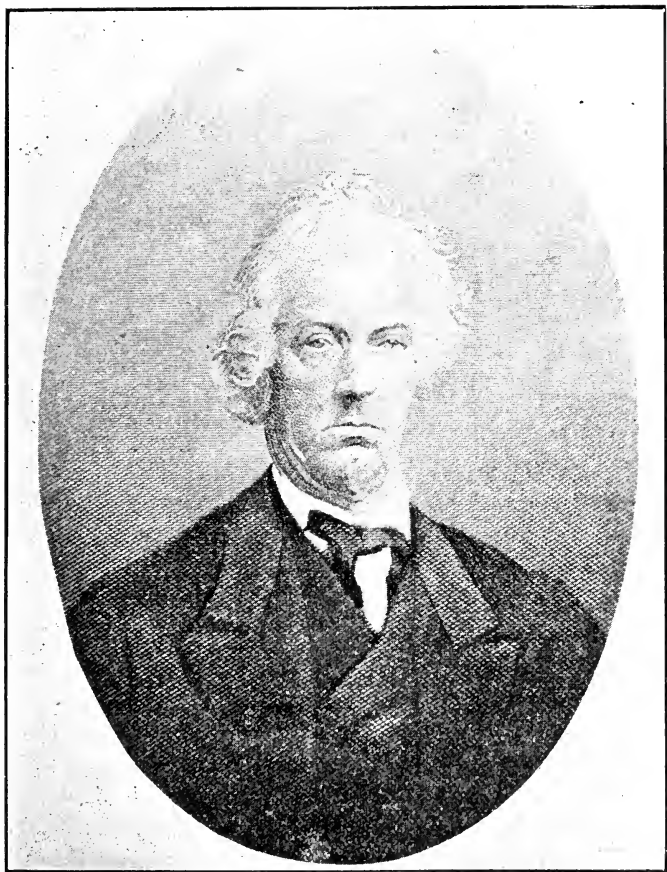
He then told me just what Dodd had before told me. He went over the whole scheme. I went with him to Mr. McDonald's and Kerr told the same story he had told me. Kerr told me that Gov. Morton was to be captured or taken prisoner, and that Dr. Athon was to be Provisional Governor, and this was part of the scheme. We went to Dr. Athon's house after 12 o'clock and called him up and told him what Kerr had said.

The next day we went to McDonald's office, where many persons were assembled, and to them Mr. Kerr told the story; and the meeting came to the conclusion that the matter must be stopped right then. After a while Dodd and John C. Walker came in. This meeting occurred on Friday, August 5th. Mr. Kerr made

a speech, saying that he came up to put a stop to the thing, and that it was our duty to stop it; and I coincided.

Col. Walker and Dodd did not acknowledge at that interview, that any such scheme was entertained. Both made earnest speeches and used these arguments—"that the Government could not be restored again under the old state of things without a forcible revolution; that an appeal to the ballot box was all folly; that the people were prepared for revolution; that they would not submit to the draft; and that it was better to direct the revolution, than to have the revolution direct us. They assured us that we need have no further apprehensions about the matter, and we rested content with that. I was satisfied that the authorities knew as much of the matter as I did. The signal of the uprising at Louisville was to be the notice of a barbecue to take place in the neighborhood of Louisville. It was understood that the uprising was to take place on the day announced for the barbecue. Mr. Kerr informed us, in the interview with McDonald, that Judge Bullitt had that day or the day previous been arrested." "We had then called the Democratic State Central Committee to meet on the 17th of August," continued the witness; "I regard this matter as most important in its effect upon the Democratic party, and that was a reason why I did not wish to say anything about it, for if this thing had been made public, it would injure us in the coming election; the charge would be made that the Democratic party was a revolutionary party, and we would have been saddled with the sins of these men.

Col. Walker was present at the State Central Committee meeting, and assured the Committee that nothing of the kind should take place. I met Col. Walker on the street; he said he was going to the Bates house to meet gentlemen by appointment---I understood him to say they were rebel officers; who were on their way to Chicago to take charge of the rebel prisoners when released from Camp Douglas; that it was necessary he should see them and tell them the whole scheme was stopped. He met me afterward, and said he had seen them, and they had gone on and stopped all operations at that time, for the release of the prisoners." The witness added—"Dodd desired me to call a mass meeting of the Democracy, and under cover of that meeting he could accomplish his ends by revolution."



WILLIAM A. BOWLES, COLONEL OF INDIANA CONSPIRATORS.

CHAPTER VI.

A GOVERNMENT DETECTIVE TELLS HIS STORY—H. H. DODD WISHES TO GO AHEAD—ORDER FOR THOUSANDS OF LANCES—A NEW WAY OF NUMBERING—CAPTURE OF ARMS.

Felix G. Stidger, of Mattoon, Illinois, of the 15th Kentucky, in the army corps of Gen. Thomas, was called as a witness and testified:—Dr. Bowles gave me the name of a Mr. Holloway, and said he was the only man in Illinois that he could put his finger on with reliability. He said the forces of Indiana would concentrate in Kentucky, and make that state their battle ground; that the forces in Illinois would concentrate in St. Louis, and co-operate with the forces in Missouri; that Illinois would furnish 50,000 men, Missouri 30,000 and Price was to invade the State with 20,000 men; with the 100,000 men they were to hold and permanently occupy that state, and the troops of Indiana and Ohio concentrate at Louisville. I learned from him

that this organization was to act in conjunction with the rebel forces. On my way to Dr. Bowles, I stopped at Salem to see Heffren; he said he and Dodd would call a meeting of the organization between the 13th and 16th of June; and that the Order in the State was about complete; that it numbered between 75,000 and 80,000 men.

About the 2nd of August, Dodd gave me the programme, and impressed upon me the importance of secrecy. He said a meeting would be held in Indianapolis on the 15th or 16th of August, and that his men would be instructed to come armed; that they were going to work to release the prisoners here and seize the arsenal here, at Springfield and Chicago, Illinois, and Columbus, Ohio, on the same day, and to release the prisoners at Johnson's Island, and Camp Chace, Ohio, Camp Douglas and Rock Island, Illinois, then proceed to Louisville, and take possession of the arsenal there, and at Frankfort, Kentucky, and, with the rebel prisoners armed, they would go to work. Their difference at Chicago was whether they should wait until the rebel forces should be sent into Eastern Kentucky to co-operate with them, or to make their uprising at once, and co-operate with the rebel forces when Davis could send them. Dodd's idea was to go ahead on the 15th or 16th of August. I do not know why the insurrection was put off. There was communication between this Order and the guerrillas in Kentucky. Bowles said he would consent to the uprising on the 15th or 16th of August, as Dodd had said, provided Col. Syphert, Col. Jesse and Walker Taylor would as-

sist in the capture of Louisville, until the forces (Sons of Liberty) of the State could get there.


Dr. Bowles asked me if I could have three or four thousand lances made. He wanted that number, and thought they could be made in Kentucky, without suspicion. He wanted three or four thousand men armed with lances and revolvers, as he could make them of great service. Bowles told me that he had spent \$2,000 for the Order, and would spend all he had, if necessary. He told me he cared nothing about the election; he was satisfied Lincoln would be elected, and he wanted the time spent in perfecting the organization and getting ready for the uprising. Bocking is a foreigner. Bowles and others were present when Bocking explained his Greek fire. The murder of Coffin was discussed in open Council. Bowles participated in it. There was not a dissenting voice with respect to the murder of Coffin at that, or any other time. I sent warning to Coffin of their purpose to assassinate him."

"The Order had a means of ascertaining the number of arms possessed by the members, by having returns made by the County Temples, under the guise of a subscription list for certain Democratic papers. For instance, a person pretending to subscribe for the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, meant that he had a revolver; for the Chicago *Times*, that he had a shotgun; for the Louisville *Democrat*, that he had a rifle; and under the head of Miscellaneous would be indicated the amount of ammunition he had on hand. Thus the matter was kept a secret from those who were not acquainted with the plan."

Col. A. J. Warner, Colonel of the 17th V. R. C. and Commander of the Post at Indianapolis, testified—"about the 20th of August, I received information that a lot of arms had been shipped secretly to this place. I ordered the Provost Marshal of the Post to seize the arms, and arrest the parties connected with the transaction. From the time I first heard of the shipment, to the time the Provost Marshal reached the depot with wagons, etc., the arms had been removed to the old "*Sentinel*" building. That night twenty-six boxes of arms and ammunition were taken. The boxes were shipped to "J. J. Parsons," and on the way-bill were marked "stationery." On some of them were marks indicating that they were Sunday School books or tracts. Twenty-four boxes contained fixed ammunition for large sized revolvers; the balance contained large revolvers—self-cocking and the largest I have ever seen. The arms and ammunition were deposited in the United States Arsenal. There were between 350 and 400 revolvers. On Sunday morning, I made a thorough search, and found, secreted in the room occupied by H. H. Dodd, under books, etc., six more boxes—in all 32 boxes. The six boxes contained arms and ammunition, like those taken Saturday night, a stamping-press, and two bushels or more of rituals, etc.; also a roll of the city members, etc. The following letter was found in the office of Dodd:

WINDSOR, CANADA W., May 12, 1864.

DEAR SIR: Am waiting to hear from you at Dayton as to time of the District Convention. No announcement yet. Will give you notice immediately.

 Send for your friend here to return at once, and work at home. Nothing to do here. So, also, says our mutual friend. Be ready for Dayton meeting. Grant has been worsted by Lee, and no mistake. It is Grant who has fallen back six or eight miles, and not L. who has advanced from west to east. L. is not, and never has been, facing northward, but eastward.

Truly,

C. L. V.

Sherman, too, has been brought to a dead stand, first having been driven back."

CHAPTER VII.

EX-STATE SENATOR HEFFREN AS STATE'S EVIDENCE—THE "COMMITTEE OF TEN" TO ASSASSINATE GOV. MORTON—THREATS TO ASSASSINATE THE WITNESS—WENT DOWN TO HEZEKIAH'S AND TOOK A DRINK.

Col. Horace Heffren, Salem, Washington County, Indiana, one of the accused, was released from arrest; proceedings against him were withdrawn, and he was called as a witness; but his evidence disclosed few new facts of importance or interest. He related certain information he had received from Dr. Wilson corroborative of former evidence in relation to the seizure of camps and arsenals, and the assassination of Morton. He testified that Dr. James B. Wilson was Adj. Gen. on Bowles' staff, Garrett W. Logan of Salem, Monroe

township, Washington County, Indiana, was Quartermaster. Dr. Wilson told the witness that Bowles had arranged to have nine companies of infantry, one of lancers, and one section of artillery to comprise each regiment of the Order. The lancers were to be armed with lances having a hook somewhat like a sickle,—the lance to thrust with, and the sickle to cut the horse's bridle—a thrust for the man, and a cut for the horse's bridle. By this appliance the enemy would become confused and if a charge were made upon them, they could not control their horses, and would fall easy victims. He explained the secret Cypher used by the Order by saying—it would be first understood what book one would write from; the writer would make the date, and place beneath it in parenthesis, the number of the page, and the figure at the left of the line would denote the line on which the writer began; thus, if it was 15, it would signify the 15th line from the top; the number of the page would be on the right in parenthesis,—the number of the line on the left. If the writer could not find the letter wanted, on that page, a line was left blank, and another number was made to denote the page to which reference is made, etc. William P. Green of Salem, Indiana, started to go to the meeting of the Supreme Council in Chicago in July 1864, in lieu of the witness who was a delegate by virtue of his office of Deputy Grand Commander; but the substitute did not get into the Council. Witness did not learn the names of the men comprising the "Committee of Ten" who were to take care of Gov. Morton; the "Ten" were to be selected by the "Committee of Thirteen,"

and were only known to the Grand Council and to the "Committee of Thirteen;" the "Committee of Ten" were to hold Gov. Morton as a hostage for prisoners taken or to make way with him in some way to the witness unknown.

The property of members of the Order was to be saved in case of invasion by the Southern forces, by display of a flag upon the property; the flag was to be white, with a red ribbon along the flag where attached to the staff, down each side of the staff and a few inches below, making red, white and red. The raid was expected the 16th of August; one reason of its failure to occur was because the army of the confederacy did not come up through Cumberland Gap, as it was understood would be done. The witness added, Dr. Wilson said Dr. Bowles' man had gone to see Price, and another had gone to Richmond, to arrange for troops to come through Cumberland Gap, but these men failed to return in time. The direct tax upon the members ostensibly for establishing a 'university,' or 'newspaper,' was really for the purchase of arms and ammunition.

The witness stated that since he had been called to the stand as a witness, he had not staid at home for a night, as threats had been made by the Order to hang him. When witness was in prison, Horsey told him and Humphreys where he hid his buckshot, caps and powder; "some of it was hid in a manger, under the horse's feed; the caps were hid in a barrel and other portions were hid in a stable, and upon the plates in the corncrib; a man^y carried off much of it and the powder was hid in

barrels in his house. Four hundred pounds of lead was hid in different places, some of it left with one man, and another man helped to pack some of the powder across the river. The quantity of ammunition hid included four hundred pounds of lead, several thousand musket caps, and some six or seven kegs of powder.

Both the witness Heffren and Humphreys wished Horsey taken from their cell as they did not wish to associate with him, and so wrote Colonel Warner. Witness testified that by urgent request, after Dodd was arrested, he wrote Humphreys, Milligan, John C. Walker and Mr. Vallandigham. Mr. Milligan and Humphreys replied; the former was sick; in answer to a question the witness replied, "he did not say anything in his reply about the salvation of God; I did not think it was near any of us at that time." [It appeared from the evidence that a long time before this letter writing, Heffren had resolved to have nothing to do with the Order, and that he and Mr. Bingham had resolved to "let the thing grind itself out;" and Heffren had said to Malott and Moss, "the whole concern was a humbug and not worth a damn;" one of them said "Let's go and take a drink on that," and they went down to Hezekiah's and "took a drink," and agreed to have no more to do with the Order."]

"Last Spring," continued the witness Heffren, "coming to Indianapolis, Humphreys and I met at the Greencastle Junction, and had a talk about the Order and its organization, and Mr. Humphreys said it would not do; he said he was for his country, right or wrong,

and for the Constitution as it was, and would have nothing to do with the Order. He advised me to quit it, and I said I had quit it and would have nothing more to do with the Order. I told him about Moss and Malott on the 17th of February, and Humphreys said he was glad of it. Humphreys said it would not do to resist the law. He said they had used his name without his knowledge or consent. The witness, in answer to a question, replied—‘if we could not gain a Northwestern Confederacy, we were to join our fortunes with the South.’ I first knew of the ‘Committee of Thirteen’ when we were initiated,—twelve beside myself, which was emblematical of the thirteen original states, and of the thirteen stars on the flag. The ‘Committee of Thirteen’ belongs exclusively to the Grand Council of the State. I did not say the committee appointed *ten murderers*, but were to select ten men ‘to take care of Gov. Morton and hold him as a hostage, or, failing in that, to ‘take care of him,’ by which I understand if they could not use him they might *take him out and kill him*. “I did believe these men would do this to Gov. Morton,—I had good reasons for believing it. I was told by Mr. Dodd and by Dr. Wilson that Vice President Stephens had gone to Nassau; that arms and ammunition had been shipped there for the Southern States, from England, but could not pass the blockade, and he went to make arrangements with commissioners from the north to have them shipped to Canada and thence distributed through the north, for the use of this Order. They were to come to Chicago through Canada. I was told by Bocking when in prison that Greek

fire was made of bi-sulphate of carbon and phosphorus and would even burn under water.

Harrison Connell of Martin County, Indiana, testified that by request of Stephen Horsey, he went with him down the railroad and found some ammunition, put it in a sack and carried it home; there was a keg of powder, a package of lead and a package of caps; he put it all in his barn, in the granary and covered it with oats.

Elisha Lowgill, of Greencastle, Putnam County, Indiana, who was Provost Marshal of the Seventh district, testified that June 4th, 1863, he saw Humphreys at the head of about four hundred armed men. Some of them swore they would kill any man who attempted to enroll Cass township. The enrolling officer was Fletcher Freeman; he was shot and killed while in the discharge of his duty, ten days after the meeting of June 4th.

Dr. James B. Wilson of Salem, Washington County, Indiana, called as a witness, testified concerning the meeting of the Supreme Council in Chicago—chiefly facts that have already been stated. It was expected that Vallandigham and also Amos Green of Illinois would both be present, but as Vallandigham did not at first come, a messenger was sent to him. Witness thought either Green or Holloway was sent to Vallandigham.

It was understood that at the time of the general uprising, Dodd was to be leader in Indiana, and Vallandigham in Ohio. Among the persons present at the meeting of the Supreme Council, was Mr. Barrett, Dr. Bowles, Mr. Williams and Judge Bullitt, Mr. Piper,

Capt. Majors, and Mr. Semmes and Brig. Gen. Charles Walsh, both of Chicago, Mr. Holloway and Mr. Green. The uprising was to take place by the command of Mr. Dodd; he was to send out couriers to the different commanders of the several districts of the State, and they were to send out couriers into the respective counties, and in like manner into the townships.

The general signal for the uprising was to be the appearance of guerrillas or troops in the vicinity of St. Louis and Louisville. The 16th was the day fixed. The forces of Southern Indiana were to rendezvous some eight miles from New Albany, under Bowles; the forces in Illinois at Rock Island, Springfield and Chicago.

At the time of the uprising in Indiana, they would proceed to Camp Morton; the fences and buildings of the Camp would be fired; the released prisoners would participate in the affair and the Federal soldiers could be overcome. The released prisoners were to be armed with the soldiers' arms, and the soldiers were to be held as prisoners of war. While this work was going on, a detail was to be sent to take care of the Governor; the arsenals were to be seized and the arms distributed among the conspirators. They were then to seize the railroad to Jeffersonville, then to proceed to New Albany and aid in the capture of Louisville. The scheme was known to all members in Washington County and in other counties. The witness believed, and with reason, that there was a session of the Supreme Council in Chicago to which the delegates were not *all* admitted. There were probably two

hundred persons present at the session of the Supreme Council. Witness testified that the first meeting was held on Sunday evening, the second on Monday, Mr. Vallandigham presiding. He presented a platform substantially the same as that adopted at the Chicago Democratic Convention.

The meeting of the organization in Chicago, at which Col. Barrett made his proposition for an uprising, was on the 20th of July; the second meeting was on the 29th of August. Barrett, who was present at the meeting at which Vallandigham presided, made no objection to the proceedings on that occasion. Dodd was present at the July meeting. Mr. Green of Illinois made a speech at the meeting.

W. S. Bush, reporter of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, was called as a witness, and gave evidence concerning a very disloyal speech by L. P. Milligan, at a convention in Fort Wayne, Indiana, August 13th, 1864. The report appeared in full in the *Gazette*, August 16th. Mr. Milligan was in favor of stopping hostilities and allowing the South the terms she asked—*to be let alone*. The draft was expected on the 5th of September, 1864. The name of the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions was O'Rourke. Milligan said among other things concerning the war, "while the Government had called out *two million seven hundred thousand men*, we were not able to make any headway, but the rebels were holding their own."

Several witnesses, called by the accused, testified to the good moral character of Mr. Humphreys, and regarded him as a law abiding citizen, and that he had

not understood the treasonable character of the Order until he had become connected with it, and then he repudiated the matter and practically withdrew from it.

The trial closed the first week in December, 1864. Gen. Burnett, the Judge Advocate, said in his eloquent and able closing argument—"At the time these arrests were made, this conspiracy, this intended insurrection had *not been abandoned*. As the evidence in this case and subsequent events have most clearly shown, the Order of the "American Knights" or the "Sons of Liberty" was never *more flourishing, more determined and more venomous than at that very time.*"

The Court found the accused,—William A. Bowles, Lambdin P. Milligan and Stephen Horsey, citizens of Indiana, *guilty* of all these charges, and sentenced them "to be hanged, at such time and place as the Commanding General of the district should designate."

The proceedings, findings and sentences of the Commission, were approved by the Commanders, and the President of the United States directed that they be carried into effect without delay. The Major General then issued the following order—

"HEAD QUARTERS DISTRICT OF INDIANA, }
INDIANAPOLIS, MAY 9, 1865. }

Col. A. J. Warner, Commanding Post, Indianapolis, Indiana:

I have just received from the Department Headquarters, an order commanding me to carry into effect, "without delay," the sentence of the Military Commission, in the cases of William A. Bowles, Lambdin P. Milligan and Stephen Horsey. The sentence of each

is death. A copy of the charges and sentence for each of said prisoners is herewith transmitted.

From the language of my orders, I am compelled to fix Friday, the 19th inst. (between the hours of 12 o'clock M. and 3 o'clock P. M.) as the most remote day within which the same can be properly obeyed. You will give the condemned every facility within your power, consistent with their safe-keeping, to settle up their worldly affairs, and prepare for the future. These are sad duties for both of us, and more trying than the field of battle, but they are stern duties, that must be obeyed for our country's safety and future welfare. I need not say to you to extend to the families of the condemned any courtesy that you can, consistent with your duty as an officer. A man who has served and suffered as you have, for your country, can execute justice in mercy, though it might cost you tears of blood. With a high appreciation of your past services, I am yours truly,

ALVIN P. HOVEY,
Brev. Maj. Gen. U. S. V. Comd'g."

At the close of the war criminal proceedings against all conspirators were abandoned, and sentences of the conspirators were in all cases annulled.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXTRAORDINARY PRECAUTIONS OF THE ORDER TO PRESERVE SECRECY—THE MOST THOROUGH INVESTIGATION BY OFFICERS OF THE GOVERNMENT—CONSPIRATORS IN THE COURTS, PROVOST MARSHAL'S OFFICE, POST OFFICE, POLICE FORCE, TELEGRAPH AND RAILWAY OFFICES, ETC.—ALL MEMBERS REQUIRED TO BE WELL ARMED—READY FOR OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS—THE CHICAGO CONSPIRATORS SUPPLIED WITH FIREARMS BOUGHT WITH THEIR SHARE OF THE "TWO MILLION FUND"—CAMP DOUGLAS, CHICAGO—RESIDENCE OF THE "BRIGADIER GENERAL" OF THE ORDER, BUT A QUARTER OF A MILE FROM THE CAMP—THIRTEEN THOUSAND PRISONERS OF WAR INCLUDING MORGAN'S MEN, CONFINED IN THE CAMP—GUARDED BY ONLY FIVE HUNDRED SOL-

DIERS—TIME FIXED FOR THE GENERAL UPRISING
OF THE CONSPIRATORS.

With such apparent security and inaction of any adverse elements of evil in Indiana, we turn to Chicago, where no suspicion of hidden danger from hostile men was for a moment entertained by the authorities or by citizens, even those who had been horrified to learn that the Supreme Council of traitors had held a session in Chicago July 20th, and all loyal people of the city rejoiced that the danger had passed, and that no new cause of alarm was in the least liable to occur.

So well were the treasonable organizations in Chicago, and all over the North, henceforth guarded, that it seemed impossible to learn their purposes, or any fact concerning them,—even that they held their meetings, and yet temples and councils were rapidly multiplying in very many cities and villages. Lists of names of police officers, detectives and other officials supposed to be inimical and dangerous to the Order, were reported at all their meetings, and the following day the names and descriptions of such officers were reported to brethren in other cities and villages. Not a change was made on the police force of Chicago, not an increase or decrease of Provost guard, not even a change of position of artillery in Camp Douglas, or other Northern camp, no change however minute, of interest to the traitors, but was promptly reported within their dens of treason.

Their precautions to preserve secrecy were, however, unavailing. Although there were not less than *five*

thousand members of the Order, "in good and regular standing" in Chicago, so thorough was the investigation by officers of the Government, that not only was the name of every member of the Order there known, as well as his participation in treasonable acts and designs, but the same is true of many other localities.

It was the practice of the "Sons of Liberty," so far as possible, to obtain positions upon the Police force, in the Courts, in Railway offices and Telegraph Stations, in the office of the Provost Marshal and Post office, this for obvious reasons. So well did they carry out this policy, that they were represented upon every railway and telegraph line in Chicago, and one of their officers was then a clerk in the office of the Provost Marshal of that city. One member of the *Illini* (Chicago) temple traveled over the North, wherever he desired, upon the pass of a Provost Marshal in Indiana, his business, being to organize temples of treason in the North and West.

In the Chicago Temple, there were representatives of nearly every profession, but the majority of the members were low, ignorant and brutal men,—*largely foreigners*. It was a rule of the Order that its members should all be well armed and skilled in the use of weapons. The rapid increase in number and consciousness of strength, made them openly defiant. They talked treason upon the corners of the streets, and wherever opportunity offered. A Union disaster was always an occasion of great rejoicing among them. All were ready for offensive operations, and while they were bound to wait till their leaders should give the

signal for revolution, all were impatient and eager for the event.

During the Summer of 1864, the Grand Seignior, as the presiding officer of the Temple was called, gave the brethren assembled the—to them—joyful intelligence, that the pro rata of the two million fund for Illinois had been expended for arms, and that these had been shipped for their destination, which was Chicago. These arms all arrived in due season, and were taken in charge by Charles Walsh, “Brig. General” of the Conspirators of the “Illini” and others of the Order in Chicago and all his precinct. I have described the treasonable Order, and now we find its members with deadly weapons in their hands, and will learn the fiendish purposes which they had fully resolved upon. Among other things, the first in order was to liberate simultaneously, all the prisoners of war in our Northern military prisons.

At Camp Douglas, Rock Island, Johnson’s Island, Camp Morton and Camp Chase, at that time—July 1864—we held as prisoners of war nearly *forty thousand* men, and it had been determined by the conspirators in council that these prisoners should all be released at a certain fixed date. With this nucleus of an army, of which Illinois alone would furnish at least eighty thousand armed men, Indiana as many more, and Ohio a still greater number, such further action would be taken as might be expedient,—certainly beginning with the pillage and burning of Chicago.

A glance at Camp Douglas will afford a better idea of the designs of the conspirators in relation to that Post.

The geographical limits of the command of the Post of Chicago—which included Camp Douglas—extended to the limits of the Posts North at Madison, Wisconsin, Southwest to Rock Island, South to Springfield, and East to Detroit, Michigan. Chicago was one of the first military depots of supplies in the country. There were ten depots in charge of a Colonel, and Chicago was one of them. The commandant of Post Chicago had jurisdiction over everything pertaining to military affairs within the limits—over the command of all troops and for the protection of the property of the Government and of the people. There were at all times on duty in Chicago about sixty men acting as provost guards.

The camp was within the city limits, nearly three miles south from the court house, comprising an area of sixty or seventy acres,—the Prisoners' Square covering about twenty acres. The camp was enclosed by a board fence, twelve feet high, made of lumber an inch and a quarter in thickness. The boards were placed endwise and were nailed from the inside. The outside sentinels were stationed on a parapet, three feet from the top of the fence, on the outside. The camp was more easily assailable from without, and less defensible, than if the attack were made from the inside.

On one side of the camp, and but a few rods distant, stood Douglas University, a magnificent building, overlooking the entire camp. One hundred, or even fifty men, stationed in that building would command Camp Douglas, and render it untenable to almost any force, as any military man who ever visited the camp will readily

admit. The residence of the "Brigadier General" of the conspirators was but a quarter of a mile distant from the camp.

Col. B. J. Sweet was commandant of the Post Chicago during the Summer and Autumn of 1864. During the early part of August of that year, the number of troops under his command, fit for duty, was from 800 to 900. The latter part of August, upon information of the proposed uprising, given by Col. Ayer, Col. Sweet, by urgent request, was reinforced by about 1,200 men,—comprising four companies, and the 196th Pennsylvania regiment, which numbered 750, all being hundred days men. They remained but 65 days, leaving in October. There were *thirteen thousand* prisoners in camp up to November, 1864. On the 6th of November the entire guard in camp was but *five hundred* men, of whom but 250 were on duty at a time. Among the prisoners was Morgan's command—a body of picked and desperate men. I am thus precise in stating the facts, that it may be seen how utterly inadequate was our force for successfully repelling an attack upon the camp by a considerable force of armed men from without, aided by the *thirteen thousand* prisoners within.

At the meeting of the "Supreme Council" of traitors in Chicago in July, 1864, a definite time had been fixed upon for the uprising of the Order, not only in Chicago, but all over the North. It was decided that the treasonable order in Indiana should rendezvous in Indianapolis, Evansville, New Albany and Terre Haute; that they should seize the arsenal at Indianapo-

lis, and distribute the arms and ammunition among the members of the Order. They also arranged to open communication with the Confederate Generals Buckner in Kentucky and Price in Missouri, that nothing might interrupt the execution of concerted plans, which have been stated.



HON. RICHARD YATES, WAR GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS,

CHAPTER IX.

CHICAGO A DOOMED CITY—PROPOSED CARNIVAL OF DEATH—STARTLING DETAILS—THE BLACK FLAG TO BE RAISED—THE CITY TO BE LAID IN ASHES—OFFICERS, SOLDIERS AND PROMINENT LOYAL CITIZENS OF CHICAGO TO BE SLAUGHTERED—THE TEMPLE OF THE “ILLINI” IN SESSION EVERY WEEK—THE CONSPIRATORS RECRUITING FROM THE GROG-SHOPS AND SLUMS OF THE CITY—THE CITIZENS REPOSE IN FANCIED SECURITY WHILE THE FIENDISH PLOT IS FESTERING IN THEIR MIDST AND A MINE AT THEIR FEET READY TO BE SPRUNG—ATROCITIES ABOUT TO BE PERPETRATED—MILITARY DRILL BY THE ORDER—CONSPIRATORS IN GREAT NUMBERS COMING FROM ABROAD TO CHICAGO—MAKING READY FOR THE

UPRISING—CONCEALED WEAPONS—BRISK TRADE IN FIRE ARMS AND KNIVES—INCENDIARY HARGUANGUE BY THE “GRAND SEIGNIOR” OF THE “ILLINI”—LEADERS DENOUNCE PRESIDENT LINCOLN AS “THE TYRANT ABRAHAM THE FIRST” AND THE SOLDIERS AS “LINCOLN’S HIRELINGS”—CONSPIRATORS IN THEIR SECRET DEPOTS OF ARMS, BY NIGHT, INSPECTING THEIR WEAPONS, MOULDING BULLETS, MAKING CARTRIDGES, ETC.

The approach of the Confederate forces toward St. Louis, Mo., and Louisville, Ky., was deemed the favorable moment, and time fixed upon for beginning hostilities in the North. The Conspirators were unanimous in the revolution that of all points to be attacked, the first should be Chicago. It was the expressed design of the Conspirators to pillage and burn Chicago and possess themselves of the treasures of the banks. It was arranged that at the time of the uprising, the members and friends of the Order should wear badges of red and white, and their dwellings should display the Confederate Flag, which would insure protection to the inmates and owners. Thus were ample and definite arrangements made for the execution of the fiendish designs, and as the meeting of this, the ruling council of traitors adjourned, it was the settled purpose of its members to execute their designs at all hazards, in all their horrid details.

Imagine the horrors of the sacking and destruction of that beautiful city! Those fiendish men were in terrible earnest; and what possible protection could the

citizens have received from the few Union troops in Camp Douglas! Col. G. St. Leger Grenfell, an Englishman and a Confederate officer at the time, who was one of the most desperate, heartless, cruel monsters that could be found on all the broad earth—a man who had fought under every flag, with the ferocity of a tiger, who had betrayed his friends, and slain the helpless,—this man was in Chicago, waiting to take command of the prisoners of war when released from Camp Douglas, and had expressed his *intention to raise the black flag, and murder every Union officer and soldier in the Camp and city!*

To this fiend, reeking with human blood, would the fair women, the old men, the children of Chicago be compelled to plead for mercy! Sooner might they have hoped for mercy from hungry tigers or from famished wolves!

Though we had stationed two companies of soldiers about Douglas University, though our brave guard—*five hundred* in number—would have fought to the death, and fallen at their posts, what mercy had citizens to hope from the Conspirators and the released prisoners? Think of the fearful odds! *Thirteen thousand soldiers, three full regiments and more of sworn and armed traitors and the many Conspirators from abroad*, who would, like vultures, have flocked to the frightful carnage—all these against *five hundred* men! Would to God it were not true, that this carnival of death was prepared by dwellers in our land! Has any spectacle in Christendom, except the horrors of the French revolution of 1789, ever equalled this! And it

would have been a reality! Who knowing the facts can doubt it?

That brave and gallant soldier, Maj. Gen. Hooker, in reviewing the facts declared that "had the plot not been timely disclosed to the Government—had it been executed, it were impossible to estimate the disastrous consequences to the cause of the Union."

So said Governor Yates, of Illinois; so said the highest officials of the nation.

Humanity everywhere execrates the memory of the guerrilla Chief Quantrell and his band of murderers who in 1863 fell upon the peaceful city of Lawrence, Kansas, and massacred one hundred and fifty of the unarmed citizens, burned their dwellings, and perpetrated other flagrant outrages,—a deed of diabolism, fiendish ferocity and cowardice equalled only and rarely by the acts of infuriated savages; but the dastardly and atrocious deed of Quantrell and his band, as blood-curdling as is, and must ever be, its recital, was to have been a thousand fold outdone, with all its horrors intensified in Chicago!

Many times did Col. Sweet and myself sit together, till long past midnight, discussing the situation and preparing despatches for Washington. These were times when we dared not trust to telegraph, for our enemies were at the keyboard. Our arrangements were made with all celerity and completeness, and though our little force was wholly insufficient to successfully resist an attack such as was planned, so perfect was the discipline, and so well were we aware of the plot and peril, that the attacking party would have met a warm reception!

During the month of July, 1864, at a meeting of the "Sons of Liberty" in Chicago, it was announced that a demand had been made upon Governor Morton of Indiana for the arms that had been seized, and if these were not forthcoming, they, the Conspirators, would compel restitution by the bullet, and that Morton would be *assassinated* if he refused!

This was the first time to my knowledge that *assassination* was proposed by the Order, but not the last; in this "art" the Order, later, evinced proficiency.

At the same meeting it was resolved to resist the draft, and all members yet unarmed, were required to arm themselves forthwith; all who were unable to purchase fire arms would be supplied by the Order. An educational and charitable institution, truly!

It was definitely settled that the uprising should occur within sixty days, and special efforts were made to increase the membership of the Order. Snares were laid in all the grog-shops and low slums of the city, and the "catch" was great. Many were present for initiation at every meeting. It was a motley company, such as may be seen in police courts, jails, and at prize fights. It is doubtful whether half of the number could write their own names, or had ever washed themselves in their lives; but if they knew nothing of the decencies of life, they had the essential qualifications for the Order,—they had muscle, had brute courage, hated the Government, and would rather rifle a bank, than earn their bread, and so of course were welcomed as brothers, and took the oaths very willingly.

Little did the busy, bustling city know of the plans and movements on foot! There was the same activity in trade, the same hopeful spirit among Union people, the same gathering at amusements, the same busy hum of industry as ever—nothing gave evidence of the existence of the terrible plot, so soon to culminate and to destroy, at a single blow, the hopes of the people,—to inaugurate a reign of terror, as fearful as any in the history of the war, or of the world.

Citizens meeting, congratulated each other upon Union victories, and upon the probable speedy close of the national strife, and at their homes discussed the terrible ravages of war, and as they knelt at the family altar, thanked God that our city and our State, and our section of the Union, had been spared the immediate horrors and desolation which ever mark the theater of warfare! Who of all in our fair city, besides the guilty wretches who were plotting the ruin and slaughter—except the officers of the Government—had even a foreboding of the awful calamity so nearly upon them!

The gunsmiths were busy, the trade in weapons of all kinds was brisk; revolvers and knives especially were articles of demand. So briskly and yet so secretly was the arming carried on, that several weeks before the Democratic National Convention assembled—August, 1864—at the close of which the uprising was to occur, but few, if any, of the members of the Order had failed to supply themselves with fire-arms and knives. The officers of the organization supplied all applicants.

It was indeed a sad, strange, soul-sickening spectacle to look upon—a group of the “Sons of Liberty” in

their secure retreats, in the quiet hours of night, inspecting their muskets and revolvers, moulding bullets and making cartridges, while their neighbors were quietly sleeping, or some with aching hearts were watching at the bedside of sick or wounded soldiers who had come home perhaps to die, while venerable mothers and aged fathers were praying for their brave boys at the front, who were battling for the preservation of national life—to witness these scenes and to know that the mission of the Conspirators was the murder of persons who dared avow and evince their devotion to their country!

A month before the time fixed upon for the carnival of death, large numbers of the Order went out of the city together as they had done before, to practice rifle shooting and for military drill.

In July, certain facts appeared in the journals of Chicago, that were damaging to the Order; the publication cast suspicion upon one of the Conspirators, as the betrayer of the secrets of the Order, and his brethren resolved to assassinate him; three members volunteered to do the deed, but upon careful investigation, the suspected man proved to be as virulent a Conspirator, and in all ways as great a scoundrel as any of his brethren, all of which was perfectly satisfactory to the Order, who then worked together in unity!

On Saturday, August 26, 1864, immense numbers of persons came in haste to Chicago. They came by rail, by wagon trains, and on horse back. There came from a single county fully a thousand men, all of whom were armed. Many brought muskets concealed in

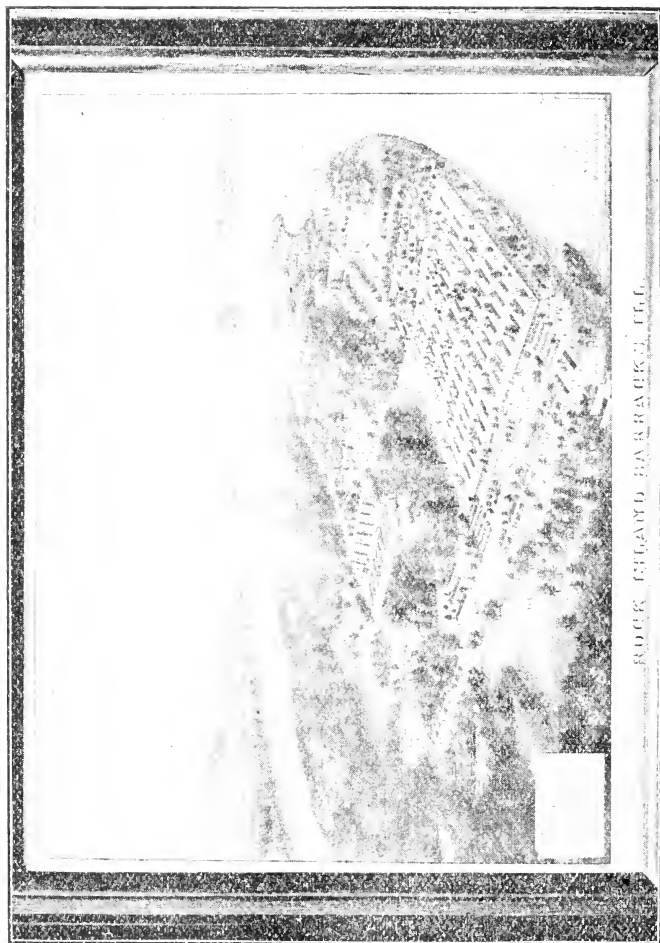
straw in their wagons. Treason upon the streets of the city was rampant, and it would not have been difficult in hearing the language of these men, to have fancied yourself in Charleston.

On the evening of that day Buckner S. Morris, an ex-Judge of the Circuit Court, "Grand Seignior" of the "Sons of Liberty"—Illini Temple—who was thoroughly conversant with the affairs of the Conspirators, stated in their council in Chicago, where he was presiding, that the number of armed and drilled members of the Order in the State of Illinois at that date, was eighty thousand men; that there were as many more in Indiana, and a still greater number in Ohio; that they were all well drilled, and could be implicitly relied upon at the right time. He further stated that there were in Chicago two full regiments of "Sons of Liberty," well armed and drilled, and that a third was forming and nearly full.

This, to them, cheering information was received with great satisfaction. He added—"The Order is strong enough in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, Kentucky and Missouri to enable us to take the General Government into our own hands, and as the Washington Government has not seen fit to execute the Constitution and the laws, we will bring them to Illinois and execute them ourselves! Thousands of our best men are prisoners in Camp Douglas; the meanest of those prisoners is purity itself, compared with Lincoln's hirelings! The tyranny of Abraham the First is fast drawing to a close, and those who are anxious to fight, will not have to wait long. It is our duty to make war

against Lincoln's Bastiles, and open their doors to our best men who are rotting in them. All who are there incarcerated, shall be set at liberty, and once at liberty, they will send Abolitionists to hell!"

You see the learned Judge, notwithstanding his presumably refined nature, addressed his audience in language to which they were accustomed and could understand.



ROCK ISLAND BARRACKS, ILLINOIS.

CHAPTER X.

DAWN OF AUGUST 28th—A HUNDRED THOUSAND STRANGERS IN CHICAGO—MANY OF THEM WERE CONSPIRATORS—"HON." JACOB THOMPSON IN CANADA—A CANADIAN EXPEDITION TO CHICAGO—COL. G. ST. LEGER GRENFELL AND CAPT. THOMAS H. HINES AS COMMANDERS—CAMP DOUGLAS REINFORCED—"BRIG. GENERAL" OF THE CONSPIRATORS VISITS THE CAMP—THE "WOMAN WHO CARRIED THE MAIL" FULL OF "BUSINESS"—GEN. PRICE AND GEN. BUCKNER OUT OF TIME—WHY THE UPRISING WAS POSTPONED—A LARGE TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION IN CHICAGO LED BY A REBEL OFFICER! THOUSANDS OF CONSPIRATORS IN LINE.

August 28th dawned upon at least a *hundred thou-*

sand strangers in Chicago, but there was no difficulty in discriminating between gentlemen of the Convention and the ruffians of the Order,—the many who the night before, having no shelter, imbibed freely of whiskey, and laid themselves down to rest in the gutters, much to the consternation of the myriads of rats, which at that period infested the streets. These sleepers now arose, and shaking themselves, like other brutes, their toilet was complete. Of all the shaggy-haired, red-faced, blear-eyed, blasphemous wretches who ever congregated at the gallows at Newgate to enjoy the spectacle of the hanging of a fellow being, the “Sons of Liberty” were still lower, if possible.

The Order had purchased carbines, pistols, guns and rifles, and had stored in Chicago sufficient for arming several thousand men! These weapons had been brought at various times, and were deposited in several different places in the city which the “Sons” confidently believed were known only to themselves,—to their Committee on Arms, but by some means one of my men was put on that committee which divided the secret, as it were!

From time to time, one or more boxes of arms were placed in trust with the faithful of the Order, in the different wards of the city.

It must not be supposed that our observations were confined to Chicago:—Peoria, Springfield, Bloomington, Dubuque, Sandusky, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and the large cities of Indiana and many other places in this country and in Canada received our attention.

It is necessary to introduce some of the people who

presented themselves in Chicago on the memorable 28th of August, 1864. They came from Canada.

The Union armies being continually pressed forward step by step toward the heart of the Confederacy, together with a desire upon the part of the Southern authorities, to show to the people of the North what invasion meant, to make them feel and see the destruction and desolation following an army of invasion, determined the Richmond government, in 1863, to send its agents to the Canadas, well supplied with money, to endeavor to incite discord and to intensify the dissatisfaction already existing in certain circles with the Government, to such an extent that it could be made available for their own uses, advantages and purposes.

Knowing that thousands of their soldiers were held as prisoners at Johnson's Island and Camp Douglas, near Chicago, but little more than twelve hours travel from Canada, it became a great object of their government to release the prisoners of war, and in the meantime, having incited a most formidable conspiracy in the North and Northwest for the subversion of the Union, and for securing material aid and assistance, the rebel prisoners being released through the instrumentality of the Northern and Canadian sympathizers, the conspiracy was to extend all over the North, chiefly over Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri and New York, and effect the release of all prisoners of war held in those States. The ruling idea in Canada at first was that the prisoners upon being released were to form a nucleus about which all the dissatisfied people of the Northern States would rally and maintain their cause

in the North, and by rallying in formidable numbers to cause the withdrawal of so many troops from the front to establish peace at home, that it would materially change the character of the conflict, as well as the theater of war from the Southern to the Northern States. Upon the withdrawal of the Union forces in any considerable numbers from the front, was to follow the advance of the rebel armies into Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri.

Sterling Price would not, perhaps, have invaded the State of Missouri in the Autumn of 1864, had it not been to give all possible aid and assistance to the conspiracy, just then ready to culminate; and this doubtless explains the position that Hood occupied for nearly two months in Northern Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee. He, no doubt, assumed the position because it was deemed absolutely necessary by the Richmond Government that his army should be placed where, upon the breaking out of the conspiracy, he would be enabled to exercise great influence and full co-operation for its success.

To further the designs of which we have spoken, Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, formerly Secretary of the Interior, under Buchanan's administration, was made a secret agent for the Confederate government, in the Canadas, and the sum of a quarter of a million dollars was placed in his hands for the purpose of arming any expedition he might place on foot from British America, for injury of the inland or ocean commerce of the United States, or harrassing Northern borders, and especially for the release of the prisoners of war at

Camp Douglas and Johnson's Island; and from the beginning of Mr. Thompson's services in Canada, we may date all the organized expeditions from British America against the United States. Chief of all these expeditions were two attempts, in the year 1864, to release the prisoners of war at Camp Douglas, and two attempts to capture the steamer "Michigan"—the United States vessel of war of 18 guns, stationed on Lake Erie, and release the prisoners of war on Johnson's Island,—expeditions to which further reference will be made.

To aid Mr. Thompson in Canada, several officers were detailed from the Southern army, prominent among whom were Col. St. Leger Grenfell, an Englishman of whom I have spoken, and Capt. T. H. Hines, a young officer commended by Gen. John A. Morgan, as possessing military talents, of a high order. In co-operation with these men, were a great many citizens of both the Northern and Southern States, who, while they were not authorized to act in any manner, yet evinced their zeal in the course of rebellion, by aiding Mr. Thompson, and encouraging refugees from the Northern States to take an active part in schemes to harrass the Northern borders of the United States.

The most prominent among this class were George N. Sanders, C. C. Clay, formerly Member of United States Congress from Alabama, Col. Steele, and a secret agent on special duty in Canada—Judge Holcombe of Virginia, who was sent there for the purpose of secretly establishing agencies for the returning of soldiers who wished to go South. However Mr. Holcomb's

mission removed him from military matters, he nevertheless approved of the different expeditions which were then being organized, and did more perhaps than any one else to cause the "unpleasantness," existing between the citizens of the United States and of Canada. Mr. Holcombe enlisted besides the feelings, the interests of many prominent business men.

Upon the departure of Mr. Holcombe to the South, his business was entrusted to C. C. Clay. During Holcombe's stay in Canada, the speculative brain of George N. Sanders originated the idea of the "Niagara Falls Peace Conference," at which there was but one Southern official, and he was not authorized to act in the matter. But the speculative Sanders endeavored to establish the popular belief that the South desired peace, and that they, Clay and Holcombe, although not authorized Commissioners, still could represent the Southern people. The "conference" was but a game for rich reward, and the humbug was too apparent for success.

Having briefly outlined the character and polity of the leaders, a few words will be pertinent concerning the persons led by such men.

Recruiting was extensively carried on in Canada, the persons enlisting, for purposes hostile to the Union, being chiefly "Skedadlers"—a word coined at that period—refugees, bounty jumpers and escaped criminals. The "Skedadlers" were those persons who had been drafted, or were afraid they might be, and so had made all possible haste over the Canadian border! Many of them came bravely back when the war was over—per-

haps to put in claims for pensions and back pay! Refugees were opposed to the Union on general principles, and went to Canada, where they could give expression to their hatred of the Union, under the protection of the British lion. The last class, a numerous one, consisted of bounty-jumpers, and escaped criminals, who could not be pursued and brought back, under the extradition treaty. These were some of the persons who came to Chicago, to share in the slaughter and in the profits the banks might yield when "worked" by them.

On the night of August 26th, these men, to the number perhaps of two hundred, left Toronto for Chicago, arriving soon after. They were armed with weapons sent from New York, expressly for the purpose. It was hoped that the expedition, and their sympathizers from the several States, who came armed to assist in the plot, would be enabled to enter the city without detection, with the vast throngs who were then assembling there from all parts of the United States, and under the guise of friendly visitors, were to be ready at a moment's notice when called upon, to spring out before the people in their true light, and effect the release of the prisoners of war in Camp Douglas.

The expedition was under the command of Capt. Thomas H. Hines of Gen. J. A. Morgan's corps, assisted by Col. St. Leger Grenfell, who had served in the Confederate army as Adj. Gen. to Morgan, and afterwards on Gen. Bragg's staff, but who pretended to have resigned his commission in the Southern army, and to be living quietly in Canada; also by Capt. Castleman of Morgan's command.

This expedition was to be met in Chicago by parties from nearly all the middle, western and border States, armed and having the same purpose. Of those citizens who came to Chicago armed and ready, there were more than a thousand persons, organized and officered, dispersed in the city, but waiting for the command, and there were also assembled in the city, fully six thousand "Sons of Liberty," who had come from different places, and who were ready to co-operate with the Expedition from Canada.

The military authorities at the Camp were not idle. At this time, we were re-inforced by about twelve hundred men, as already stated. Infantry and artillery were in the most creditable condition. The Conspirators looked with dismay upon every new arrival of troops at Camp, as it was reported in their headquarters by spies who had the temerity to go to the observatory overlooking the Camp, from which they could see everything within it. During the Summer, the Brig. General of the Order had made a visit to the Camp to inspect its condition, which was doubtless as well known to the Conspirators, as to the officers in command.

The time fixed upon for the uprising of the great army of Conspirators came, but the event did not occur; not from lack of harmonious action on the part of the sworn traitors, but General Price failed to make his appearance in the vicinity of St. Louis, or Gen. Buckner about Louisville.

Of course the "Sons of Liberty" who had come to Chicago with the belief that the uprising would occur

just as designed, and that they would reap a golden harvest from the banks and mercantile palaces, looked with an evil eye upon the property of the citizens, and hoped to the last that some lucky incident might occur which would provoke an outbreak, and afford them opportunity for pillage, but they were doomed to disappointment, and with surly looks and threats of vengeance, they left the city, resolved at an early date to draw their pay, principal and interest, from the banks and other depositories of wealth.

As soon as it was generally known to the conspirators that the event had been postponed for a time, Col. Grenfell and Capt. Castleman made their appearance among them, and stated that all who were willing should go to Southern Illinois and Indiana to organize and drill the enemies of the Union, for the event soon to occur, and that he—Grenfell and Capt. Hines would remain in Chicago and vicinity, and work to great advantage. The men and officers from Canada were severally paid various sums of money, and fifty of them went to Southern Illinois and Indiana, and the others returned to Canada.

The evening before the departure of the would-be murderers, a very large torchlight procession illuminated the streets of Chicago, in which were the officers and members of the "Sons of Liberty" of the city and abroad, and at its head was the Major General of the Order—the Grand Military Commander of the State, and Chief of the Staff of Supreme Commander of the Order in the United States! At that moment, that man had a program which, had an intimation been re-

ceived from Buckner or Price, would have been of fearful import to the citizens of Chicago! This man had visited Chicago, July 20th, as the agent of the Confederacy.

Indiana and Southern Illinois were well chosen fields for drill and organization of traitors. The Order in Indiana had been disturbed, and for a brief time silenced, by the conviction and death sentence of four of its leaders, as already stated, but the Military Commission had scarcely closed its session, than it was again in full blast, and some of its officers were initiated into the higher degree of the Order in Chicago; on one occasion a Judge from that State was admitted into full fellowship, and edified the meeting with glowing accounts of the recent rapid increase of membership in his State, since the Military Commission had "squelched" the Order! The brethren were jubilant on the occasion, and would see to it—so they declared—that no officer ever again interfered with the Order!

Fulton County, Illinois, was a favorite "stamping ground" of the leaders. In that County Assistant Provost Marshal Phelps was shot; there, too, enrolling officer Criss was shot—both by assassins! There resided the State Grand Commander of the "Sons of Liberty."

CHAPTER XI.

ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE THE U. S. STEAMER MICHIGAN BY STRATEGY AND SURPRISE—DETAILS OF THE PLOT—EXPEDITIONS FROM CANADA—GATHERING OF “SONS OF LIBERTY” IN SANDUSKY CITY—THE PLOT AS CORROBORATED BY TWO OF THE OFFICERS IN CHARGE OF THE EXPEDITIONS—PIRACY ON LAKE ERIE—SEIZURE OF THE “PHILO PARSONS” AND “ISLAND QUEEN”—PROPOSED RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR AT JOHNSON’S ISLAND—THE DESIGNS OF THE CONSPIRATORS IN THE EVENT OF SUCCESS IN CAPTURING THE WAR STEAMER—ALL LARGE LAKE PORTS TO BE COMPELLED TO PAY TRIBUTE—TELEGRAM OF WARNING TO THE COMMANDER OF THE “MICHIGAN”—BANQUET ON BOARD THE STEAMER—A LEADING CONSPIRATOR WHO GAVE THE BANQUET ARRESTED

AT THE TABLE—HENCE THE FAILURE OF MESSAGE OR SIGNAL TO THE PIRATE CREW OF THE “PARSONS” — ABANDONMENT OF THE PLOT — THE LEADER HUNG FOR PIRACY.

During the August visitation of the traitors to Chicago, their fellow conspirators made an attempt to capture the U. S. War Steamer “Michigan,” carrying eighteen guns, stationed on Lake Erie, and used for guarding prisoners of war on Johnson’s Island, in Sandusky Bay. The prisoners at Camp Douglas being released—which the traitors doubted not would be done—the capture of the “Michigan” was to startle the country, and aid in overturning the United States Government. With the “Michigan” in their possession, the conspirators would have a powerful arm of warfare to be used for the release of the prisoners of war, for the ruin of our commerce on the great lakes, enabling them to close the lake ports and exact tribute from all cities and large towns on the lake borders, which, they believed, would yield enormous sums of money. While villains were assembling in Chicago, other villains were gathering in Sandusky City, armed and ready for their work of death and destruction.

The plot of the Conspirators to obtain possession of the “Michigan” was by bribery and surprise. Jacob Thompson of Canada, in his efforts to seize the vessel, secured the services of a man named Cole, of Sandusky City, who had been a citizen of Virginia and still retained his sympathies for the rebellion, and took an active part in aiding it, and a woman who carried despatches between the parties. Cole played his part in

the plot with great cunning. His work was begun by attempts in a variety of ways, to win the confidence of officers in command both of the steamer and the Island. It is said—and doubtless with truth—that a number of persons from Canada had enlisted on the “Michigan” for the purpose of aiding in the seizure. When the time for action arrived, the engineer and persons charged with being his accomplices, were not to be found, and the conspirators returned to Canada.

Later, another attempt was made to capture the “Michigan.” A week prior to the time fixed upon, Capt. Beal,—the most active agent in the affair—went from Sandusky to Windsor, Canada, and announced to Jacob Thompson that all was in readiness to make the capture. The men in Canada, who were to participate in the desperate undertaking, were armed.

The plan of the pirates, as stated by two officers who commanded detachments of the party, were that seventy-five or a hundred armed men were to go from Canada to Sandusky City, by rail; another party were to cross the river at Detroit, early Monday morning, and take passage on the steamer “Philo Parsons” for Sandusky; another party were to take passage on the same steamer at Sandwich, Canada; and still another party were to charter a small steamer—the “Scotia,” then plying between Windsor and Detroit; ostensibly for the purpose of making a pleasure trip to Malden, Canada, some twenty miles below Detroit, whence they were also to take passage on the “Parsons.” At Kelley’s Island, they expected to receive a message from Capt. Cole, concerning matters in Sandusky, upon receipt of which, they were

to seize the "Parsons," before her arrival at the next landing.

The engineer and pilot were to be forced to continue their services; the passengers were to be put off at some out of the way place, where it would be impossible for them to give information to the authorities, and after dark, the pirates were to run into Sandusky Bay, where they expected to see certain signals from conspirators on shore, when they would touch the landing, take on board those who had come by rail, and other conspirators and immediately steer for the "Michigan." Capt. Cole was to give a champagne supper on board the "Michigan" that evening, to the officers and was to be accompanied by a party of kindred spirits invited to join in the festivities.

It was intended for the "Philo Parsons" to reach hailing distance of the war steamer about midnight, for by that time the crew—it was believed—would be so far under the influence of liquor, as to be incapable of defence. Cole and his associates were to take possession of a gun which would sweep the deck, and so prevent those who might not be intoxicated from making effectual resistance.

Once in possession of the "Michigan," the next objective point would be Johnson's Island. The expectation of immense sums as tribute, was the greatest inducement held out to the desperadoes before leaving Canada, and they were the more desperate from the certainty that if they should fail in their undertaking and should be captured, speedy death would be their fate.

On Monday, upon the arrival of the "Philo Parsons" at Malden, the several parties of conspirators took passage on board of her. It was not the intention of the pirates to seize the "Parsons" until near Sandusky City, and in the event of failure to receive a message at Kelley's Island, from Capt. Cole, they were not to take possession of her at all, but land at Sandusky; but their conduct on the trip had excited the suspicion of the officers of the boat, who expressed their intention of giving information to the officials upon arrival at their destination, whereupon Capt. Beal determined to seize the vessel then, which was accordingly done to the great terror of the passengers and crew. At Put-in-Bay, where the "Parsons" stopped to obtain a supply of fuel, the pirates seized the steamer "Island Queen," then pillaged and scuttled her. No despatch was received from Capt. Cole. After dark the pirate steamer ran down into Sandusky Bay, but failing to see the signals agreed upon, after waiting a short time, returned to the open lake, convinced that something had happened to their friends in Sandusky City, which would prevent the capture of the "Michigan," and Capt. Beal announced his intention of cruising on the lake as long as possible, burning and destroying all the property he could find, but his men, fearing the guns of the "Michigan," insisted upon returning home and he consented, but told Mr. Thompson on his return to Canada, that "if it had not been for the mutinous scoundrels, I could have run that steamer on the lakes for weeks, burning and destroying all the vessels we might meet, before the Yankees could have made us take to land."

The day before the piratical expedition left Windsor as stated, the United States authorities had been notified of its purpose, and in consequence of the information, Capt. Cole was arrested while he was at the table dining with the officers on board the "Michigan," which, of course, prevented him from communicating with the conspirators. If the plans of Lieut. Col. Hill, the efficient commander of the Post at Detroit, had been followed, he would have captured the whole piratical crew. His plans were to allow them to take the "Parsons," and then before they had time to do any damage, have the "Michigan" meet them on their way to Sandusky City, and capture them all together, and thus relieve the Government from any further trouble with them. Col. Hill telegraphed the Commander of the war steamer, requesting him to do this, and the reason why he did not do so was that the machinery of the vessel was out of order, thus showing how well those who had been bribed had executed their plans. Later on, Capt. Beal was hung in Sandusky City for piracy on Lake Erie. *

*The late Hon. Sylvester Larned wrote concerning the writer's account of the attempt to capture the U. S. Steamer "Michigan" and piracy on Lake Erie:

"COL. I. WINSLOW AYER—DEAR BROTHER—The 'Philo Parsons' seizure, etc., I know all about, and have Col. Burleigh's Commission in the Confederate Navy, signed by President Davis. I have the testimony in full, and can produce it to verify your statements."

CHAPTER XII.

AGAIN THE DATE WAS FIXED FOR THE UPRISING—
SECOND ATTEMPT TO RELEASE THE PRISONERS OF
WAR IN NORTHERN PRISONS—PLOT TO ASSASSIN-
ATE PRESIDENT LINCOLN—THE PRICE OF BLOOD—
A FUND TO REWARD THE ASSASSIN—THE MURDER-
OUS DESIGN KNOWN IN WASHINGTON SIX MONTHS
PRIOR TO THE PERPETRATION OF THE DEED—
BOOTH ECHOES THE UTTERANCE OF TRAITORS IN
CHICAGO AND EXECUTES THE FELL PURPOSE OF
THE ORDER—THE OPINION OF GEN. BURNETT,
JUDGE ADVOCATE OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION
WHO TRIED THE ASSASSINS—A YOUNG REBEL CAP-
TAIN SAVED FROM AN IGNOMINIOUS FATE—A VIC-
TIM OF THE PRECEPTS OF THE ORDER—WILDEST
ENTHUSIASM OF THE CONSPIRATORS—IMMINENT
PERIL OF CHICAGO—A MEETING OF THE ORDER

CALLED FOR SUNDAY EVENING, NOV. 6 1864—
PERIOD OF INTENSE ANXIETY TO OFFICERS OF THE
GOVERNMENT.

We return to the story of the Chicago Conspirators, and in the few moments in which we will discuss the subject, will learn of the second and last attempt to release the prisoners from Camp Douglas, and other Camps of the North, to pillage and burn Chicago, and to assassinate the military authorities.

The plans of the Conspirators for the uprising, which were to have been executed in August 1864, had only been postponed—not materially changed. The date of the uprising was fixed for November 8, 1864—the evening of election day. It had often been said in the violent harangues in the Chicago Council of the Order, that in case Lincoln was elected, he would never be inaugurated, but this vague intimation of some dark design was to assume definite expression. During the month of October, at a meeting of the "Sons of Liberty" in Chicago, a proposition was made to raise a fund of *fifty thousand dollars* for the person who would assassinate President Lincoln. This base proposal was freely discussed by some of the leading members, one of whom declared that "Extermination of tyrants is obedience to God!" Said another Son of Satan from New York, in Chicago, at another meeting—"The people will soon rise, and if they cannot put Lincoln out of power by the ballot, they will by the bullet!"

"*Sic Semper Tyrannis!*" exclaimed Booth on the night of April 14, 1865, in echo of the utterances of

traitors in Chicago, and with his words, our President met his death. "They will by the bullet!" So was the prophecy fulfilled! The fiends who began with the murder of Provost Marshals, and enrolling officers in Illinois, exhibited equal skill with victims of higher rank in Washington.

Gen. H. L. Burnett, Judge Advocate of the Military Commission, who tried the assassins of President Lincoln, wrote to me—"I have no doubt but that accursed treasonable Order, the "Sons of Liberty," had much to do with bringing into existence the state of feeling, the venomous bitterness of which culminated in the assassination of President Lincoln."

Nor do I doubt it, nor can any intelligent person doubt it, if cognizant of the circumstances. The infamous proposal was promptly communicated to the Commandant of the Post, and to Hon. E. Stanton, Secretary of War.

The teachings of the Order led young men into the worst of all crimes—treason against their country. I will mention but a single incident of the kind that came under my notice:

In the winter of 1864-5, while passing through the barracks in Cincinnati, I saw a young man only eighteen years of age, a prisoner, to be tried for treason, in forming a military Company in Chicago, for fighting against the country. He had been arrested as he was about to cross the Ohio to Kentucky, to enter the Confederate service. I investigated the matter. The young man's imagination had been wrought upon by the "Sons of Liberty" till he felt it his duty to go to the front and

give his services, and his life, perhaps, to the cause he believed to be right, and now was to be tried for the crime. I sought an early opportunity to present the case to Maj. Gen. Hooker, Commanding the Department, and made an earnest appeal in his behalf. The General, as notable for humanity as for justice, took the matter under advisement and acceded to my request, and gave an order for the prisoner's release. The youth became a noble man. Thousands of young men were, in like manner, led astray by this accursed fanaticism.

Let not the multitude of malefactors seek to throw upon Booth, the assassin, or Beal, the pirate, or Kennedy, the incendiary, or other criminals arrested, the sole responsibility of the guilty deeds perpetrated by their hands, for these were the outcome of the fiendish Conspiracy, and existed in the *animus* as well as in the heart and hand of the wretches who fired the bullet or lighted the torch!

The evening of November 3d there was an unusually large meeting of the Conspirators in Chicago. Vallandigham was expected to be present, but did not appear. The Brig. General of the Order for the district, and other notables were present. Speeches of the most exciting character were made, and the wildest enthusiasm prevailed. At the close, a meeting was called for *Sunday* evening, and all were urged to be present, as the "Brig. General" had a most important communication to make.

To Officers of the Government, cognizant of the acts, designs and preparations of the villainous Order, this was a period of intense anxiety. To what fearful peril

was the city exposed! With only about *five hundred* men to guard the Post—with *thirteen thousand* prisoners, veteran soldiers in camp; with three regiments of secret, sworn enemies of the Union, in Chicago, armed, drilled, ready and eager to begin their murderous work; and knowing that the entire body of traitors in the state, and in several other states, would rise simultaneously with those in Chicago,—in this most painful position to know that the eventful moment was fast coming when the infernal machinery was to be set in motion, and to make arrangements to avert the calamity if possible, and so quietly as not to excite alarm among the leaders,—all the responsibilities resting upon us—upon Col. B. J. Sweet, Commandant of the Post, and myself, the *only* parties who could hope to avert the danger—received our closest attention day and night.

CHAPTER XIII.

GATHERING OF TRAITORS SUNDAY EVENING, IN THE HEART OF THE CITY—FINAL DETAILS OF THE FIENDISH PLOT—DESPERADOES IN COUNCIL—THE BUSINESS—FIRES TO BE KINDLED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CITY, JUST BEFORE THE ATTACK UPON CAMP DOUGLAS—COLORED ROCKETS AS SIGNALS TO THE PRISONERS—MESSAGES BY THE “WOMAN WHO CARRIED THE MAIL”—ALL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE CONSPIRATORS COMPLETED—THE MEETING CLOSED BY DISTRIBUTION OF ARMS TO THOSE WHO WERE UNARMED, AND THE ORDERS OF OFFICERS FOR SPECIAL SERVICES—BUT FORTY-EIGHT HOURS TO ELAPSE BEFORE THE EXECUTION OF THE TERRIBLE PLOT—THE OFFICERS OF THE GOVERNMENT PROMPT IN ACTION—THE DREAMS

OF THE CONSPIRATORS DISTURBED—"TAKEN UP TENDERLY, LIFTED WITH CARE"—THE LEADERS ARRESTED—MORNING NEWSPAPERS OF MONDAY PUBLISH A REPORT OF THE SUNDAY NIGHT MEETING—ALARMING TELEGRAM TO THE NEWS JOURNALS—EXODUS OF VILLAINS TO CANADA—THE BALANCE OF THE TWO MILLION FUND—SEIZURE OF IMMENSE NUMBER OF FIRE ARMS, NEARLY ALL LOADED, AND GREAT QUANTITIES OF AMMUNITION—WOMEN CONSPIRATORS TRY TO UTILIZE HOOP-SKIRTS FOR CONCEALMENT AND TRANSPORTATION OF REVOLVERS—LUDICROUS PHASE OF THE AFFAIR—A YOUNG LAWYER PUTS HIS "BEST FEET" FORWARD—COLONEL GRENFELL, THE ENGLISHMAN, THREATENS TO SEND THE ENTIRE BRITISH ARMY AND NAVY FOR REDRESS!

Sunday evening came. Our citizens worshipping in the churches, or in peaceful repose in their homes, little knew of the imminent peril to which they were exposed, or of the gathering of traitors in the heart of the city, to arrange the final details of the plot, which if successful, would bring ruin, desolation and death to thousands of unsuspecting people.

Up the entrance to "Invincible Club" hall, South Clark street, Chicago, cautiously crept the members of the Order. The door was carefully guarded. The meeting was large, and a more desperate looking concourse was never assembled. There were many strangers in the city, who, the Brigadier General of the Order

stated "had come to fight." These men were evidently the desperadoes who had visited our city in August, and turned their backs so reluctantly upon our banks and stores. Their coming had not been heralded, but struck the city as did the plague of amphibious animals and vermin the land of Egypt.

The meeting proceeded to "business." It was arranged that a detachment of men should be stationed in each ward of the city for "special service." To distinguish friends and members of the organization, it was ordered that each one should wear a knot of red and white ribbon, on the left breast.

Fires were to be kindled in different parts of the city, at the same time, and these would engage the attention of the citizens while the attack upon Camp Douglas was being made. Near the camp was a growth of small wood, which offered a partial cover for the attacking party, who were to go thither in small groups, to avoid attracting the attention of sentinels upon the parapets, or of citizens upon the streets; and when ready, they were to suddenly spring forward from cover, and simultaneously assault three sides of the enclosure.

There can be no doubt the prisoners were fully apprised of the design, as a couple of nights before, colored rockets had been sent up from the copse in the vicinity of the Camp, which were pre-arranged signals, and messages and missives had been carried into the Camp by the wife of one of the leaders of the Order.

After the close of the Sunday evening meeting, many revolvers were given to the visitors. There were

now but *forty-eight hours* to elapse before the denouement of the plot! Every arrangement had been completed, and when the Conspirators left the hall and exchanged their adieus, it was confidently believed by all that they would meet on the Tuesday evening following to execute the plot in its minutest details.

The opportune moment for the officers of the Government had arrived, and they were prompt in action. Before daylight Monday, Nov. 7, we began to gather up the agents of evil. Carriages for the dignitaries were called, and we gathered them in. Officers called at the houses of the leaders, and disturbed their dreams by an invitation for an early drive to the Camp. Some of them who would have hesitated and made loud outcries, were "taken up tenderly, lifted with care." They had neither the time nor ability to disturb the early morning with their cries of distress, but with hasty toilet, and no parting messages, they were whirled away to Camp Douglas. The "Brig. General" of the Order, Col. G. St. Leger Grenfell, the hero of the "black flag," the demonstrative old Judge, and many other leaders of the Conspirators were all brought in, and though they had been trying for so long to get there, still they were not happy!

From the premises of "Brig. Gen." Charles Walsh was seized an immense number of army revolvers, cavalry carbines, double-barrelled guns and the best rifles—nearly all loaded; thirty thousand rounds of cartridges, a large quantity of powder, Confederate flags and red and white badges. There were one hundred and fifty prisoners, in all, taken; one-tenth of the number came

from the Confederate army; the others were "Sons of Liberty."

It was then telegraphed in every direction, that the designs of the Order were fully known to the Government; that their leaders were at that moment in prison, and that other arrests would quickly follow. The consternation of the traitors was truly great. They felt that notwithstanding all their precautions and death penalties, the eye of the Government had been upon them, even in their most secret places; nor was their consternation in the least relieved, when they read in the newspapers of Monday an extract from the speech of their "Brig. General" on Sunday evening!

The "Sons of Liberty" kept aloof from their halls, and many of them *ran away*; among the runners was the agent holding the unexpended balance of the *two million* fund. Gentlemen holding unexpended balances do sometimes run away, and sometimes—if we may credit the public prints—they expend the balances before running!

When the "Brig. General" of the Order learned that a United States detective had, by his invitation, witnessed the process of cartridge-making in his own house, beheld the mysteries and seen the goodly quantity—the product of his skill and industry, and learned that a member of the "Committee on Arms" was the right man in the right place, it was truly mortifying, and caused him to say,—and very emphatically,—a few words in Chinese! It was amusing to behold the hasty and not over graceful efforts of women of conspirators' households to conceal beneath their wrappings, and their

attempt to carry away the weapons, when they found that all was discovered—efforts from which they were relieved by the gallantry of the Commandant of the Post. It was vastly more pleasant to us, than to our visitors, to see the dray loads of arms and ammunition brought into camp, instead of being used against us.

The occasion had a ludicrous phase. One young lawyer threatened the authorities at camp with legal proceedings, and cited innumerable reports and cases from the law books, to show that we could not arrest him; but his eloquence was squelched by an order to take off his boots. He “put his best foot forward” and removed a boot. I call it his “best foot,” because there was nothing found in his boot, but when the other had been reluctantly removed, a *rebel commission* was found therein! The “proceedings” were to betake himself to a small, dark room under the roof of the Colonel’s quarters, where after solitary reflection for a couple of hours, he meekly knocked and expressed deep penitence, and an urgent desire to confess, and “give away” his brethren; this he did, and without reserve, and was held as a witness.

A valiant Captain of the Order was so badly frightened, that he cried like a whipped school boy.

Col. G. St. Leger Grenfell stormed and swore till the atmosphere was odorous of sulphur. He threatened us with the entire British army and navy, till we could almost fancy we saw an approaching fleet, sailing down the Chicago river, and innumerable hosts of artillery foot and cavalry advancing upon us, by way of Bridge, port.

Many of the "lesser lights" of the Order, not arrested but apprehensive that they would surely, quickly be, started at all speed for Canada.

CHAPTER XIV.

A MILITARY COMMISSION CONVENED IN CINCINNATI FOR THE TRIAL OF THE PRISONERS—CONVICTION OF "BRIG. GEN." CHARLES WALSH, COL. G. ST. LEGER GRENFELL AND RICHARD T. SEMMES—CONFESSION OF "THE WOMAN WHO CARRIED THE MAIL"—PERSONAL SKETCHES OF THE PRISONERS—HATE OF THE COUNTRY'S SECRET FOE—THREE KNOWN ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE THE WRITER—EMINENT SCOUNDRELS AND THE "UNWASHED"—"GIVE THE DEVIL HIS DUE"—WHAT VALLANDIGHAM WOULD HAVE DONE HAD HE "SUPPOSED" THERE WAS A CONSPIRACY—WHAT HE DID AS "SUPREME COMMANDER" OF THE CONSPIRATORS—THE ORDER LEFT NOTHING TO BE SUPPOSED—THE GREAT MORAL CANCER FULLY EXTIRPATED—

THE DESIGN UPON CHICAGO BUT AN INCIDENT OF
"THE GREAT TREASON PLOT."

A Military Commission was convened in Cincinnati for the trial of the prisoners—Brig. Gen. Charles Walsh, Col. St. Leger Grenfell, Ex-Judge Buckner S. Morris, Col. B. M. Anderson, Charles Travis Daniels, (of Morgan's command), Capt. George Cantril, (also of Morgan's command), Vincent Marmaduke and Richard T. Semmes, charged with conspiracy for the release of the prisoners at Camp Douglas, and of conspiring to "lay waste and destroy the city of Chicago." Morris and Marmaduke were acquitted and discharged upon taking the oath of allegiance, Charles Walsh and Richard T. Semmes were found guilty of all the charges and specifications. Grenfell was also found guilty and sentenced to death, at such time and place as Maj. Gen. Hooker should designate. Capt. George Cantril's trial was continued, owing to the serious illness of the prisoner. Col. Anderson committed suicide during the trial, and Charles Travis Daniels escaped and was not recaptured.

The lady who carried the mail was sent South of the lines, where she doubtless "carried the news to Mary."

COL. G. ST. LEGER GRENFELL had fought in every clime. He proposed to raise the *black flag* and murder every Union soldier in the camp and city, and was to have assumed command of the prisoners of war upon their release from Camp Douglas, and to this man, the loyal citizens of Chicago would have been compelled to appeal for mercy.

Gen. Burnett, Judge Advocate of the Commission said of Col Grenfell:—"As to this man, I confess I have no sympathy with him; no sympathy for the foreigner who lands in our country when this nation is engaged in the struggle for human right and human liberty, and who takes part in the quarrel against us, and arrays himself on the side of those who are trying to establish tyranny and slavery. I have no sympathy for the man whose sword is unsheathed for hire and not for principle; for whom slavery and despotism have more charms than freedom and liberty. The motive of such a one does not rise even to the dignity of vengeance. As has been said by his counsel, his sword has gleamed in every sun, and has been employed on the side of almost every nationality, and after this, he engages in our struggle, and as testified to by Col. Moore, desires to raise the black flag against our prisoners; and after men have yielded as prisoners of war, he rides up to one, and stabs him, coward like, in the back.

But he is not true to the cause he espouses. When in Washington, he went to the Secretary of War and betrays the very people with whom he has been fighting; tells all he knows of the strength, position and designs of the Confederates. He said he proposed to leave immediately for England, but he breaks his faith, proceeds to Canada, and is found among the conspirators, and is now here, charged with these crimes, to-day. There is no throb of my heart that beats in unison with such conduct as this. He was a fit instrument to be used in this enterprise. What to him would be the wail of women and little ones? What to him

would be the pleadings of old men and unarmed citizens!"

BRIG. GEN. CHARLES WALSH—a citizen of Chicago, at one time Democratic candidate for Sheriff of Cook County. During the early part of the war he was very active in helping to raise what was called the "Irish brigade." He afterwards became a bitter partisan and was connected with the "Sons of Liberty." Just before and during the National convention, in August, 1864, he received into his family several rebel soldiers, who were there during the day and night time, making cartridges for the release of the prisoners of war at Camp Douglas. He was arrested on the morning of the 7th of November. In his house and on his premises were an immense number of guns of several kinds, also revolvers, and immense quantities of gunpowder, buckshot and cartridges. All these guns and pistols were loaded. Charles Walsh was of Irish extraction, about forty years of age; and except in the character he assumed as an enemy to his country, was possessed of qualities, which won for him many friends.

JUDGE BUCKNER S. MORRIS—A prominent lawyer and citizen of Chicago, and an earnest advocate of the notions and doctrines of the "Sons of Liberty." He was arrested in his own house Nov. 7th, 1864. He was a rebel and openly sympathized with the rebellion, and so strong were his sympathies, that he aided the enemies of his country in every way in his power. B. S. Morris was, at one time, Judge of the Circuit Court, and a candidate for the office of Lieut. Governor of Illinois. He was born in Kentucky and was about sixty years of age

at the time of his arrest. Aside from his treason, Judge Morris was generally regarded as possessing noble qualities at heart.

COL. B. M. ANDERSON—A young man of education, ability and fine personal appearance, born, reared and educated in Kentucky; possessed many excellent qualities and was a much better man than any of the Northern Copperheads arrested. He had been in the Nicaragua expeditions under the filibuster, Walker. He committed suicide at the barracks in Cincinnati during the progress of the trial. He was not of the base material of which the "Sons of Liberty" were made, and it is probable would have been acquitted had he lived, as there was no evidence whatever to connect him with the acts or designs of those who were convicted.

CHARLES TRAVIS DANIELS—a native of Harrison County, Kentucky, a lawyer by profession; about 26 years of age; belonged to Morgan's command, but never served in any other capacity than as an enlisted man. He was captured with Morgan, but escaped from Camp Douglas; was captured at Walsh's house November 7th, 1864, and escaped again from the military authorities in Cincinnati, while on trial by the Military Commission. He was not recaptured, but was found guilty by the Commission.

CAPT. GEORGE CANTRIL—a native of Scott County, Kentucky, about 26 years of age; he belonged to Morgan's command, in which he served as company commander; was in Morgan's last raid in Kentucky, and at his defeat at Cynthiana escaped to Canada. He was

with the other conspirators at Chicago during the convention, and went with them to Southern Illinois for the purpose of drilling members of the Order. He was captured in the house of Brig. Gen. Charles Walsh, November 7th, 1864. On account of sickness he was not tried with the other conspirators.

RICHARD T. SEMMES—A young man, not over 24 years of age, was a Marylander, and a lawyer by profession. He graduated at Yale college with distinction and his prospects were flattering till he became a "Son of Liberty."

In the Chicago Council of Conspirators was one member who was later hung in Chicago as an anarchist, and another who was later hung for assassination of President Garfield.

The writer has personally visited Councils of the treasonable Order in several States and in many cities, but in none did he ever find more desperate, virulent, and blood-thirsty beings than in the Council and Temple of Chicago. In these assemblages they never tired of talking of assassination, bloodshed, of plots and schemes adverse to the cause of the Union, of means for avoiding the drafts, of gloating over Union defeats and losses of men, of applauding and praising the valor of the public enemy, and belittling the deeds of our brave soldiers, and exciting each other to deeds of violence, even of murder. It is certain that on several occasions the security and perhaps the life of the writer depended upon his reputed skill with weapons. For these wretches no honest man can find a shadow of excuse for their deeds or their affiliation with such

bands of traitors. True, indeed, it is that "no man is free of guilt who has apologies for treason."

During the darkest days of the Republic, duty called me to oppose the secret enemies of our country, of whose evil deeds and designs I have spoken—a service which General Hooker, commanding the Northern Department, pronounced as among "the most important and perilous of the war." Three known desperate attempts were made in Chicago to assassinate me—by bullets and by an Infernal machine*—and for years after the war closed, I was pursued by the malignant hate of the Order, whose murderous designs I had foiled, and which I effectually suppressed, and largely so, by the entire sacrifice of my own private fortune, and bringing down upon myself such malignant and persistent hate of the country's secret foe, as to make my life almost a perpetual martyrdom.

The children of such misguided men will rejoice that I spared them the ghastly heritage that would have stained and disgraced their names to the latest generation! When the verdict of the Military Commission established the fact that there had been a conspiracy against the country, which many had till then doubted, and the guilty had denied, certain influential men—

* The author was fired upon as he alighted from his carriage on returning to his residence from Camp Douglas—two bullets passing into an oaken upright in a direct line of his head. At another time he received an "Infernal machine," so arranged that upon raising the cover it would explode a heavy charge of powder and scatter missiles of death in every direction. It was immersed in water for hours, and opened in the presence of the police. Again his residence was entered between midnight and morning by a conspirator who was recognized, as he was encountered upon the stairs by a watchman. The desperado effected his escape. Scores of threatening letters were received by him during and subsequent to the session of the Military Commission in Cincinnati and during the trial of the assassins of President Lincoln.

members of the treasonable Order---sought to impress the public mind with the idea that the Conspiracy was confined to a few villains from the slums of Chicago, whose sole aim was plunder. I know that the Chicago Councils so far from being composed only of low ruffians, vagabonds and criminals, included many high-toned scoundrels—an Ex-Judge of the Circuit Court, who had been a candidate for Lieutenant Governor of the State, one or more Justices of the Peace; several city officials; the leading officers of "Invincible Club"—the largest club in the city; several members of the bar, etc. Give the devil his due! Since that period some of the leading conspirators have sought and received governmental favors, and others have had the audacity to solicit the suffrages of the people for office, unmindful of a truth that should be impressed upon the heart of every citizen,—that the primary qualification for public official trust is unwavering loyalty to the Republic; no man is deserving the confidence of his fellow citizens who has ever proved false to his country!

Clement L. Vallandigham, "Supreme Commander" of the treasonable Order in the United States, made oath before the Military Commission that had he "supposed there was a plot against the Government," he "would have been the first to oppose and expose it!" Bless his innocence! Supreme Commander of the Order of Conspirators in the United States, and did not suppose there was a plot against the Government! What the Honorable, the patriotic, the truthful gentleman might have done, had he "supposed" such villainy, I will not undertake to say; but what he did, with full

knowledge of and active participation in the plot, from its first inception in the North, to the breaking up of the organization, I *know*! From the hour of his arrest, and during the period of his exile, his history is all known to the Government! I have met the leaders of the great conspiracy in this country and in Canada,—the eminent scoundrels and the unwashed—face to face,—in their Secret Councils and in their dark seances, in their cartridge factories, in their places of concealment of arms and in the military prisons! I never once lost sight of our secret enemy while our country was in peril from this infernal machinations! I saw in the Council hall of the Conspirators in Chicago, a Justice of the Peace hold in his hand, and heard him delineate to the red handed ruffians and for the edification of the high toned villains of the Order there assembled, the map of Camp Douglas in its minutest details, and heard him declare that he would lead the proposed attack upon the Camp! I heard the proposal made in the lodge-room of the villainous Order, to raise money to incite assassination of President Lincoln! I heard, time and again, in their Councils, threats against the life of the President, and of Governor Morton of Indiana! No man ever joined the organization without acquiring full knowledge of its ultimate ends. The Order left nothing to be “supposed.” No man caring for his life dared to say a single word in their Councils in favor of the Union.

Fellow citizens, you now know the facts without coloring or exaggeration! Well was it for the country that the conspirators were foiled! Well was it for the

people of Chicago, that the horror was averted—that they passed the most critical period of their existence without even knowing that they were threatened with overwhelming disaster; that there was a mine beneath their feet, ready to be sprung at any moment, and that citizens were pulling at the spring, with intent to involve the innocent in utter ruin! Citizens of Chicago know what the conflagration of a city means! They know all its horrors, even when thousands of brave and gallant firemen, all unmindful of self, hasten to the rescue and perform deeds of noble heroism; and when sympathizing cities far and near endeavor to mitigate the inevitable suffering consequent upon such awful calamity! They have seen and felt all this! But how incomparably more terrible is the condition of a city given over to armed ruffians, to slaughter, to torture, to pillage and conflagration!

And yet the design upon Chicago was but an incident of the great Treason Plot—a plot which for magnitude, cunning and perfidy was without a parallel in the history of any nation—a plot most cunningly devised for the overthrow of the Government and the downfall of American liberty! Am I reminded that the war is long since over, and hence that it is impolitic to discourse of the hidden dangers of that period! The concealed pitfall required for safety a land mark,—the sunken ledge to be noted upon the mariner's chart! The reminder is needless,—the fact irrelevant to the subject, for I speak not of *open* warfare, nor of brave men in field or council, but of basest criminality that might have been looked for from the Apache Indians,

but not from civilization or people claiming education.

By the proposed uprising an army of oath-bound traitors would by savage warfare have been arrayed against the country. Assuming the prowess and ultimate triumph of the Union arms, what the possible period of prolongation of the war, with all its horrors, by the uprising! In the States of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio there were more than *two hundred and forty thousand* members of the treasonable Order, all armed, thoroughly drilled, and to be implicitly relied upon, to say nothing of the secret forces in Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Maryland, Iowa, Michigan or New York!

Such was the written statement of the chief officer of the Chicago Conspirators in Council, as reliable information to the members of the Order. It came from one of the most intelligent men of the Supreme Council, who had ample facilities for learning the facts, with no conceivable motive for deception, and may be received as truth.

Had so formidable an accession to the enemy's forces been suddenly made on land and lakes at that period, the disastrous effect upon the cause of the Union would have been great indeed! Can any reasoning mind for a single moment suppose that the liberation of the prisoners of war, and the general uprising of the treasonable Order, would have involved in *ruin, only* the city of Chicago?

Hearts inflamed with hate, and hands imbued with the life-blood of scores of human victims, are not satiated, but are infuriated by the first flush of success. The history of the French Revolution would have

been repeated,—its sanguinary scenes re-enacted upon American soil! Do you pronounce this the judgment of an alarmist! Hear, as I have heard, within the Council halls of the traitors! See, as I have seen, the material of which blood-thirsty mobs are made, and you will concur in the expressed opinion of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, Gen. Paine, Gen. Burnett, Gen. Sweet, Gov. Yates, Gov. Morton and others who knew the facts.

“It was impossible” said U. S. Senator Arnold in his letter to me, to believe that anything so monstrous could exist in our midst!” But later he believed. It was impossible for others to believe such terrible allegations, till the evidence before the Military Commission of the land established the facts.

I shall never forget how I was startled—how my blood was chilled with horror and amazement, when for the first time, I saw in the Council of conspirators, a man whom I had esteemed the personification of honor and noble manhood,—so esteemed by many of the best citizens of Chicago,—that man holding the office of Grand Seignior—the chief officer of the treasonable body, presiding over men who were armed with weapons to kill my comrades at the Camp,—to kill my fellow citizens in Chicago, and worse than all, to destroy our country! He made the report upon the numerical strength of the Order.

Had these men any grievance from which they had vainly sought redress? Had any right of theirs been invaded? Had they any provocation for the perpetration of monstrous crimes against humanity and the law?

None, and none were liable to ensue! When was assassination, arson, piracy or pillage regarded by civilization as justifiable! The flag of the free waved over them and their homes, a symbol and pledge of protection and justice, even while they were conspiring to draggle it in the dust! Do numbers make crime respectable? Then open wide the doors of all the penitentiaries in the land, and with the exodus of villains through the portals, christen them all as respectable,—worthy of popular esteem and public honors!

Crime is *crime*, whether perpetrated by one man or a million of men! Liberty is not a synonym of defiance of the nation's sovereign law, nor is it license for crime!

I have endeavored to point out the great hidden dangers of our country in the most eventful period of her history. I seek in vain for apology for the men who composed the treasonable organization. Mistakes and follies we may pardon; differences of opinion, we may respect, and open opposition in vindication of supposed right, we may encounter without hatred; but for secret leagues for the perpetration of monstrous crimes against the country and against humanity, there is no excuse to be presented! While we can well understand why the malefactors may desire silence, and have even sought by their own peculiar and tried means to insure it, the worthy and honorable, in every community, will condemn the evil that was done, and the evil it was proposed to do!

To my countrymen, I present the facts—they shall find the verdict! Well will it be, if we profit by the

lesson, and teach our children that the perpetuity, greatness, prosperity, glory and happiness of the nation depend upon the morality, intelligence, unity and patriotism of the people.

CHAPTER XV.

THE "CHICAGO CONSPIRACY"—THE STORY AS TOLD BY A MAGAZINE WRITER—DETAILS OF THE PROPOSED ATTACK UPON THE CAMP—LETTER FROM GEN. SWEET CONCERNING THE MATTER—THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE PICTURES THE HORRORS TO FOLLOW THE RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS IN CAMP DOUGLAS, HORRORS SCARCELY PARALLELED IN SAVAGE HISTORY—THE MAJORITY PROBABLY OF THE CONSPIRATORS WERE FOREIGNERS.

The following extract from an article in the Atlantic Monthly of July, 1865, while it gives evidence that the writer was not aware of the extent of the great Treason Plot in the North, nor of the malignity, scope and

varied purposes of the Order, will nevertheless possess interest as bearing upon our subject, and so far as here presented is entitled to full credence: "On the eve of the last general election the country was startled by the publication of a report from the Judge Advocate of the United States disclosing the existence of a wide-spread conspiracy which had for its object the overthrow of the Union. This conspiracy, the report stated, had a military organization, with a commander-in-chief, general and subordinate officers, and *five hundred thousand* enrolled members. The organization was in every way hostile to the Union and friendly to the so-called Confederacy." Startling and incredible as the report seemed, it fell short of telling all the truth. The writer sets forth in a general way the designs of the conspirators upon Camp Douglas, and states that the prisoners of war therein being released would be a nucleus about which conspirators in other parts of Illinois could gather, and, being joined by prisoners liberated from other camps, and members of the Order, would form an army of a hundred thousand strong. The United States could bring into the field no force capable of withstanding the progress of such an army.

Col. B. J. Sweet, Commandant of Camp Douglas, wrote Maj. Gen. Hooker, under date of August 12th, 1864:—"I have the honor respectfully to report in relation to the supposed organization at Toronto, Canada, which was to come here in squads, then combine and attempt to rescue the prisoners of war at Camp Douglas, that there is an armed organization in this city of five thousand men, and that the rescue of our prisoners

would be the signal for a general insurrection in Indiana and Illinois. There is little, if any, doubt that an organization hostile to the Government, and secret in its workings and character, exists in the States of Indiana and Illinois, and that this organization is strong in numbers. It would be easy, perhaps, at any crisis in public affairs, to push this organization into acts of open disloyalty, if its leaders should so will."

The writer quoted, in speaking of Jacob Thompson, says of the proposed uprising: "Months before the plot had been concocted, and in May, Thompson, supplied with \$250,000, had been sent to Canada. This money was in bank at Montreal, and had furnished the funds which fitted out the abortive expeditions against Johnson's Island and Camp Douglas. The plot embraced the Order of "American Knights" (Sons of Liberty) which was spread all over the West, and numbered 500,000 armed men. A force of 1,200 men—Canadian refugees and bushwhackers from Southern Illinois and Missouri—was to attack Camp Douglas on Tuesday night, the 8th of November, liberate and arm the prisoners and sack Chicago. This was to be the signal for a general uprising throughout the West, and for a simultaneous advance by Hood upon Nashville, Buckner upon Louisville, and Price upon St. Louis.

Vallandigham was to head the movement in Ohio, Bowles in Indiana and Walsh in Illinois. The forces were to rendezvous at Dayton and Cincinnati, Ohio, New Albany and Indianapolis, in Indiana, and Rock Island, Chicago and Springfield, Illinois; and those gathered at the last named place, after seizing the arsenal,

were to march to aid Price in taking St. Louis. Prominent Union citizens and officers were to be seized and sent South, and the more obnoxious of them were to be assassinated.

All places taken were to be sacked and destroyed, and a band of a hundred desperate men was organized to burn the larger Northern cities not included in the field of operations. Two hundred Confederate officers who were to direct the military movements had been in Canada, but were then stationed throughout the West, at the various points to be attacked, waiting the outbreak. Capt. Hines, who had won the confidence of Thompson by his successful management of the escape of John Morgan, had control of the initial movement against Camp Douglas; but Col. Grenfell, assisted by Col. Marmaduke and a dozen other rebel officers, was to manage the military part of the operations. All of these officers were at that moment in Chicago waiting the arrival of the men, who were to come in small squads over different railroads, during the following three days.

The writer says of Grenfell—"He looks a reckless, desperate character, and has an adventurous history. In battle, he is said to be a thunderbolt—lightning harnessed and inspired with the will of a devil. He is just the character to lead the dark, desperate expedition on which they are entered." Of Hines he says—"at his right sits another tall, erect man of about thirty, with large prominent eyes, and thin black hair and moustache. He is of dark complexion, has a sharp, thin nose, a small close mouth, a coarse, harsh voice, and a

quick, boisterous manner. His face tells of dissipation, and his dress shows the dandy; but his deep, clear eye and pale, wrinkled forehead denote a cool, crafty intellect. This is the notorious Capt. Hines, the right-hand man of Morgan."

Grenfell and Hines thus explained to J. T. Shank (detective) the plan of operations of the proposed attack upon Camp Douglas:—

"Two hundred rebel refugees from Canada and a hundred "Butternuts" from Fayette and Christian Counties, have already arrived; many more from Kentucky and Missouri are coming; and by Tuesday, [November 8th, 1864] they expect that a thousand or twelve hundred desperate men, armed to the teeth, will be in Chicago. Taking advantage of the excitement of election-night, they propose with this force to attack the Camp and prison. It will be divided into five parties. One squad under Grenfell will be held in reserve a few hundred yards from the main body, and will guard the large number of guns already provided to arm the prisoners. Another command offered to the Texan [J. T. Shank] will assault the first gateway, and engage the attention of the eight hundred troops quartered in Garrison Square. The work of this squad will be dangerous, for it will encounter a force four times its strength, well armed and supplied with artillery, but it will be speedily relieved by the other divisions. Those under Marmaduke, Col. Robert Anderson, of Kentucky, and Brig. Gen. Charles Walsh of Chicago, Commander of the "American Knights" will simultaneously assail three sides of Prison Square, break

down the fence, liberate the prisoners, and taking the garrison in the rear, compel a general surrender.

This accomplished, small parties will cut telegraph-wires and seize railways, while the main body, reinforced by the prisoners will march into the city and rendezvous in Court House Square, which will be the base of further operations.

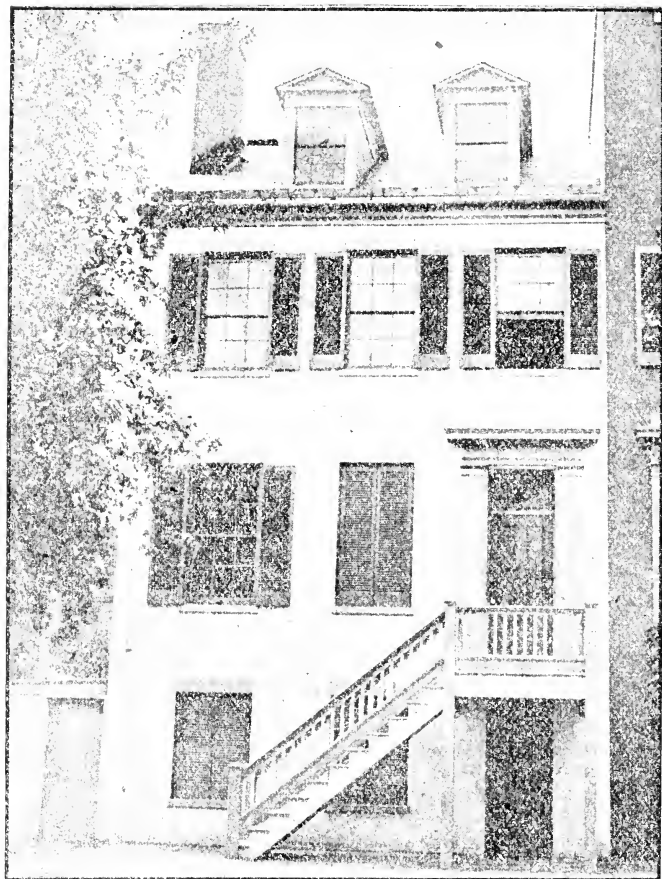
The first blow struck, the insurgents will be joined by the five thousand Illini [Sons of Liberty] and seizing the arms of the city—six brass field pieces, and eight hundred Springfield muskets, and the arms and ammunition stored in private warehouses, will begin the work of destruction. The banks will be robbed, the stores gutted, the houses of loyal men plundered, the railway stations, grain elevators, and public buildings burned to the ground. To facilitate this latter design, the water-plugs have been marked, and a force detailed to set the water running. In brief, the war will be brought home to the North; Chicago will be dealt with like a city taken by assault, given over to the torch, the sword and the brutal lust of a drunken soldiery. On it will be wreaked all the havoc, the agony and the desolation which three years of war have heaped upon the South, and its rising flames will be the torch that shall light a score of other cities to the same destruction."

Col. Sweet, in a dispatch to the General of the Department on Sunday evening, November 6th, 1864, says: "My force is, as you know, too weak and much overworked—only eight hundred men, all told, to guard 13,000 prisoners. I am certainly not justified in waiting to take risks, and mean to arrest these officers, if possible before morning."

Col. Sweet, after his official report to Gen. Cook, under date of November 7th, 4 o'clock a. m., says: "Adopting measures which proved effective to detect the presence and identify the persons of the officers and leaders, and ascertain their plans, it was manifest that they had the means of gathering a force considerably larger than the little garrison then guarding the prisoners of war at Camp Douglas, and that taking advantage of the excitement, and the large number of persons, who would ordinarily fill the streets on, election night, they intended to make a night attack on and surprise this Camp, release and arm the prisoners of war, cut the telegraph-wires, burn railroad depots, seize the banks and stores containing arms and ammunition, take possession of the city, and commence a campaign for the release of other prisoners of war in the States of Illinois and Indiana, etc., thus organizing an army to effect and give success to the general uprising, so long contemplated by the "Sons of Liberty."

The Chicago *Tribune* of November 8th, 1864, said: "A shiver of genuine horror passed over Chicago yesterday. Thousands of citizens who awoke to the peril hanging over their property and their heads in the form of a stupendous foray upon the city from Camp Douglas, led by Rebel officers in disguise, and Rebel guerrillas without disguise, and concocted by home Copperheads, whose houses had been converted into Rebel arsenals, were appalled as though an earthquake had opened at their feet.

Who can picture the horrors to follow the letting loose of thirteen thousand Rebel prisoners upon a sleep-



MRS. SURRETT'S BOARDING HOUSE,
Headquarters of the Assassins, Washington, D. C.

ing city, all unconscious of the coming avalanche? With arms and ammunition stored at convenient locations, with confederates distributed here and there, ready for the signal of conflagration, the horrors of the scene could scarcely be paralleled in savage history. One hour of such a catastrophe would destroy the creations of a quarter of a century, and expose the homes of nearly two hundred thousand souls to every conceivable form of desecration."

More arrests were made, more arms taken, but the great blow was struck and the great work over. The conspiracy was dead, yet even as it lay in death, men shuddered to look on the hideous thing, out of which had gone so many devils.*

It is a most remakable phase of human character—most deplorable and alarming, that in our country, enjoying as it does the broadest liberty, in its highest acceptation, and blest with noblest institutions for the mental and moral elevation of the people, that a million of men could have banded themselves together by oaths and death penalties, for the purpose of destroying our country—reducing to anarchy, chaos and confusion, with its train of horrors, the glorious fabric devised by the wisest and best of men, and constructed by heroes and statesmen who gave their life-blood a sacrifice upon their Country's altar.

* In several instances, newspaper writers have given to the public erroneous and garbled statements of incidents and narration of hearsay stories relating to the Conspiracy, which have so little truth and so much fiction, it is proper to state that aside from official reports and the testimony before the Military Commissions, no authentic information of the least importance has hitherto been published, nor has it been possible for any other person than Col. Ayers to present a comprehensive and complete narrative of this most important chapter of our national history, now given for the first time in compliance with repeated requests of hosts of the Grand Army of the Republic and other eminent men of the nation.

Careful and important investigation of the facts show that the great Conspiracy was largely the work of the foreign element of our population; that the most malignant conspirators were a commingling of anarchists and other persons from the worst classes of Europe—persons of very limited experience and observation of the excellence of our republican institutions, and utterly disqualified by ignorance, modes of life and base associations, if not by intellectual capacity for appreciating the blessings and attractions of the land to which they had come from abodes of squalid misery, want and woe, and hopeless degradation.

It is a truth that the most virulent, disloyal news journals and public prints in the North, and especially in States cursed with the greatest number of conspirators were conducted by *foreigners*.

It is a truth that the greater number of Military commanders of the treasonable Order were *foreigners*.

It is a truth that the officer in command of the Conspirators in Chicago, who declared his intent to raise the *black flag* and kill every Union soldier in the Camp and city, was a *foreigner*.

It is a truth that the Brigadier General of the Conspirators in Chicago, who had concealed immense numbers of fire arms and munitions of war in every ward of Chicago, to be used against the citizens, was a *foreigner*.

It is equally true that the conspirator Kennedy who was hung in New York for attempting to burn that city was also a *foreigner*.

It is true that the great majority of the expedition who attempted to capture the United States steamer

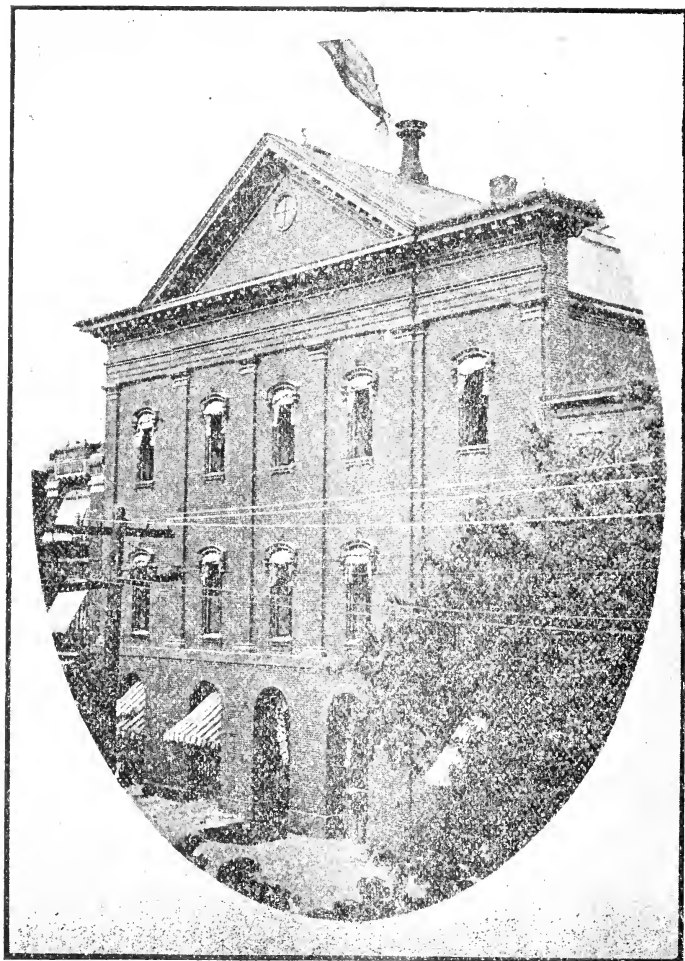
“ Michigan ” in Sandusky Bay, were also *foreigners*.

It is also true that the man who introduced into the Conspirators' Council in Chicago the proposal to raise \$50,000 for the person who would assassinate President Lincoln was a *foreigner*.

And I might cite many other instances to verify the statement that probably a majority of the million of Conspirators were *foreigners*.

It may here be recorded as notable facts that Guiteau, the assassin, and an anarchist hung in Chicago were both members of the Chicago Temple of conspirators.

The above facts are significant indeed—facts which it is but justice to our countrymen to state, and which are surely deserving the gravest consideration of all patriotic people.



FORD'S THEATRE.
Where President Lincoln was shot, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER XVI.

TREASON AND PESTILENTIAL LEAVEN OF DISLOYALTY—BRILLIANT AND ELOQUENT PARAGRAPHS OF PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT—ARREST, TRIAL AND SENTENCE OF CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM, "SUPREME COMMANDER" OF THE "SONS OF LIBERTY" IN THE UNITED STATES—GEN. BURNSIDE'S FAMOUS "GENERAL ORDER No. 38"—A WARNING TO TRAITORS, THAT REQUIRED NO INTERPRETATION—ORDER FOR ARREST OF VALLANDIGHAM—HOW THE ORDER WAS EXECUTED—THE CRY OF DISTRESS, OCCASIONED BY THE "SUPREME COMMANDER" IN VAIN—TOO MANY "BOYS IN BLUE"—TRIAL, CONVICTION AND SENTENCE—COMMUTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—APPLICATION FOR WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS REFUSED—VALLANDIGHAM SENT BEYOND

“THE LINES”—COOL RECEPTION IN “DIXIE”—
RESIDENCE IN CANADA—PARTISAN RANCOR IN
THE NORTH DURING THE WAR—WHY UNION SOL-
DIERS FIRED THE SALUTE FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL
NOMINATION—THE FAMOUS ST. ALBANS RAID.

“No man is free from guilt who has apologies for treason.” President Johnson said, and his words should find an echo in the heart of every man: “The time has arrived, my countrymen, when the American people should be taught what crime is, and that treason is crime,—the highest crime known to the law and the Constitution. Yes, treason against a State, treason against all the States, treason against the Government of the United States, is the highest crime that can be committed. Treason must be made odious. In the words of a former Senator of the United States, “when traitors become numerous enough, treason becomes respectable.”

Rev. Dr. Tiffany of Chicago, in an eloquent address upon the assassination of President Lincoln, said—“We felt secure because the loyalists were more numerous than the traitors. But of the few who were here, and tolerated here, some plotted the escape of rebel prisoners, some the burning of our city, some the conflagration of New York, and some the murder of the cabinet, while one has killed our good President. Had they all been driven out, or put under strict surveillance, there would have been none of these things from them. We have lost our President by tolerating traitors in our streets.”

“Stretched out huge in length the arch-fiend lay
 Chained on the burning lake; nor ever thence
 Had risen or heaved his head, but that the will
 And high permission of All-ruling Heaven
 Left him at large to his own dark designs;
 That with reiterated crimes he might
 Heap on himself damnation while he sought
 Evil to others.”

A brief account of the arrest, trial and sentence of Clement L. Vallandigham, Supreme Commander of the “Sons of Liberty,” will doubtless prove of interest to the reader, not only as to the man, but in relation to Maj. Gen. Burnside when in command of the Department of the Ohio, which comprised the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan—States in which there were in 1864 collectively more than a quarter of a million conspirators connected with the “Sons of Liberty.” In the Spring of 1863 evidence enough reached the General commanding to warrant him, as he believed, in issuing the notable order of which the following is a true copy:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,

CINCINNATI, OHIO, APRIL 13, 1863.

General Order }
 No. 38. }

The commanding General publishes for the information of all concerned, that hereafter all persons found within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried as spies or traitors, and if convicted will suffer death. This order includes the following class of persons:

Carriers of secret mails; Writers of letters sent by secret mails; Secret recruiting officers within the lines

Persons who have entered into an agreement to pass our lines for the purpose of joining the enemy; Persons found concealed within our lines belonging to the service of the enemy, and in fact, all persons found improperly within our lines, who could give private information to the enemy; all persons within our lines who harbor, protect, conceal, feed, clothe, or in any way aid the enemies of our country.

The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this Department. Persons committing such offences will be at once arrested, with a view of being tried as above stated, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this Department. All officers and soldiers are strictly charged with the execution of this order.

By command of Major General Burnside.

LEWIS RICHMOND,

Official:

Assistant Adjutant General.

D. R. Larned, Captain and Assistant Adjutant General."

Order of Arrest.

Headquarters Department of the Ohio.

CINCINNATI, May 4, 1863.

Capt. Chas. G. Hutton, A. D. C., Etc.,

Captain—You will proceed at once to Dayton, Ohio, by special train, and cause the arrest of the Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham, after which you will return at once to these headquarters. You will confer with the

Provost Marshal, who will await your arrival at Dayton, and see that the arrest is made as quietly as possible. Captain Murray will accompany you and will render you any assistance you may request of him. You should endeavor to arrive here before daylight tomorrow morning.

By command of Maj. Gen. A. E. Burnside.

Upon this order Vallandigham was arrested between 2 and 3 o'clock A. M. at his house in Dayton, Ohio. His residence was surrounded by a force of a hundred soldiers. A demand was made upon Mr. Vallandigham to surrender, but as he delayed his appearance, the doors were broken in and he was captured. Mr. Vallandigham gave the cry of distress of the Order, "Ocoon," but the presence of so many "boys in blue" had the effect to render the few "brethren" of the Order assembled deaf to the cry, and the "Supreme Commander" was hurried away in compliance with the order of Maj. Gen. Burnside.

A Military Commission was convened in Cincinnati, May 6, 1863, for the trial of Clement L. Vallandigham for language in violation of General Order No. 38, used at Mount Vernon, Ohio, about May 1, 1863. The prisoner was found guilty and sentenced to be placed in close confinement in some fortress of the United States, to be designated by the commanding officer of the Department, there to be kept during the continuance of the war.

"The proceedings, finding and sentence are approved and confirmed, and it is directed that the place of confinement of the prisoner be Fort Warren, Boston Harbor." By command of Maj. Gen. A. E. Burnside.

Order of the President.

U. S. MILITARY TELEGRAPH,

May 19, 1863.

To Maj. Gen. Burnside, commanding Department of the Ohio:

Sir---The President directs that without delay, you send C. L. Vallandigham under secure guard, to the Headquarters of Gen. Rosecrans, to be put by him beyond our military lines, and that in case of his return within our lines, he be arrested and kept in close custody for the term specified in his sentence.

ED. M. CANBY, Brigadier General and A. A. J.

By order of the President.

On Saturday, May 9, 1863, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of Ohio, Judge Leavitt presiding, an application was made on behalf of Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham, for a writ of *habeas corpus*.

Maj. Gen. Burnside, in his statement to the Court, said: "If I were to find a man from the enemy's country distributing in my camps speeches of their public men that tended to demoralize the troops or to destroy their confidence in the constituted authorities of the Government, I would have him tried, and hung if found guilty, and all the rules of modern warfare would sustain me. Why should such speeches from our own public men be allowed?"

"The press and public men in a great emergency like the present, should avoid the use of party epithets and bitter invectives, and discourage the organization of

secret political societies which are always undignified and disgraceful to a free people, but now they are absolutely wrong and injurious; they create dissensions and discord, which just now amount to treason.

“Citizens do not realize the effect upon the army of our country, who are its defenders. They have never been in the field; never faced the enemies of their country; never undergone the privations of our soldiers in the field; and besides they have been in the habit of hearing their public men speak, and as a general thing of approving what they say; therefore, the greater responsibility rests upon the public men and upon the public press, and it behooves them to be careful as to what they say. They must not use license and plead that they are exercising liberty. In this Department it cannot be done. I shall use all the power I have to break down such license, and I am sure I will be sustained in this course by all honest men. At all events, I will have the consciousness before God of having done my duty to my country, and when I am swerved from the performance of that duty by any pressure, public or private, or by any prejudice, I will no longer be a man or a patriot.

I beg to call upon the fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, relatives, friends, and neighbors of the soldiers in the field to aid me in stopping this license and intemperate discussion, which is discouraging our armies, weakening the hands of the Government and thereby strengthening the enemy. If we use our honest efforts, God will bless us with a glorious peace and a united country. Men of every shade

of opinion have the same vital interest in the suppression of this rebellion; for should we fail in the task, the dread horrors of a ruined and distracted nation will fall alike on all, whether patriots or traitors.

Hon. Aaron F. Perry, in his masterly argument for Gen. Burnside, said: "The arguments for insurrection made in South Carolina are openly repeated in Ohio. It is not very long since the Marshal of this district was obliged to call for military forces to suppress a revolt in Noble County in this State (Ohio), still later was a military force necessary to save Dayton from the ravages of a similar revolt. In numerous instances in Indiana military force has been necessary. These are all fingers of the same hand. Your Honor does not forget how recently the records of this Court were removed in order to save them from the contingencies of an invasion by insurrectionary forces.

This Court is sitting in garrison. General Wright, who was first sent to command this Department, was a man eminent for military science and clear abilities. The next commander sent us is Gen. Burnside of Hatteras Inlet, of Roanoke Island, of Newbern, of South Mountain, of Antietam, of Fredericksburg—a General not inferior in ability, nor second to any other in the affections of his countrymen. With him comes that famous army corps, young in organization, but already old in sacrifices and in glory. Next in command, for Ohio, they send us the very Bayard of American Volunteers, whose cool heroism at South Mountain was looked upon as an ample response to the high expectations formed of him from his accomplishments

and previous services, and who crowned them all at Antietam Creek by performing there, with Ohio troops, trained under his own eye, a feat of arms fit to be compared with the far-famed passage of the Bridge of Lodi. If the Government can afford such Generals for the safe places, what can it afford to the dangerous places?

Why are these men here? Have they at any time, since the war begun, sought any other but the place of danger? They are here—they are sent here for war,—to lay the same military hand upon this insurrection wherever they can find it, in small force or large force, before them or behind them, which they have laid upon it elsewhere. They are not here to cry peace, when there is no peace; not here to trifle with danger, or to be trifled with by it. They are patriot Generals, commanding forces in the field in the presence of the enemy, constrained by their love of country, and in the fear of God only, to strike.

Are they to fold their arms and sleep, while the incitements to insurrection multiply around them, and until words shall find their way to appropriate acts? Are they to wait until the wires shall be cut, railroad tracks torn up, and this great base of supplies, this great thoroughfare for the transit of troops, this great center and focus of conflicting elements is in a blaze, before they can act? Must they wait until apprehended mischief shall become irremediable before they can attempt a remedy? Traitors and abettors of treason would everywhere answer "Yes!" I seem to hear a solemn accord of voices rising from the graves of the

founders of the Constitution saying "No!" And I seem to hear the response of loyal and true friends of liberty everywhere swelling to a multitudinous and imperative "Amen!"

The people know General Burnside by acts, which speak louder than words. His principles and motives are as visible to them as the shining track of the sun. They know him as one of the first, then unheralded by fame, to bare his bosom to the bolts of war. They know him as one whose political opinions and prejudices were strong against the present Administration, but who subordinated these to a sense of the necessity of saving the Constitution. They know him as one who has passed through perils innumerable, and has born with equal constancy, victory and defeat; who in all vicissitudes, has stood as a rock, against which the waves of sedition dash and are broken. His acts are his explanation. He needed and will need no other." The eminent Counsel thus closed his argument:

"The question of civil liberty is no longer within the arbitrament of our civil tribunals. It has been taken up to a higher court, and is now pending before the God of Battles. May he not turn away from the sons whose fathers he favored! As he filled and strengthened the hearts of the founders of our liberty, so may he fill and strengthen ours with great constancy! Now, while awaiting the call of that terrible docket, while drumbeats roll from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, while the clear sound of bugles reaches far over our once peaceful hills and valleys; now, when the hour of doom is about to strike, let us lose all sense of

individual danger; let us lay upon a common altar all private griefs, all personal ambitions; let us unite in upholding the army, that it may have strength to rescue from unlawful violence, and restore to us the body of the American Union! Above all, O Almighty God! if it shall please thee to subject us to still more and harder trials; if it be thy will that we pass further down into the darkness of disorder, yet may some little memory of our fathers move thee to a touch of pity! Spare us from that last human degradation! Save! O save us from the littleness of being jealous of our defenders.

OPINION OF THE COURT, BY HON. H. H. LEAVITT,
JUDGE.

The Court in refusing the writ of Habeas Corpus, took occasion to say: "It is not to be disguised that our country is in imminent peril, and that the crisis demands of every American citizen a hearty support of all proper means for the restoration of the Union, and the return of an honorable peace. All should feel that no evil they can be called on to endure, as the result of war, is comparable with the subversion of our chosen government, and the horrors which must follow from such a catastrophe.

Gen. Burnside had achieved during his brief military career a national reputation as a wise, discreet, patriotic and brave General. He not only enjoyed the confidence and respect of the President and Secretary of War, but of the whole country.

It was known that the widely extended department, with the military supervision of which he was charged,

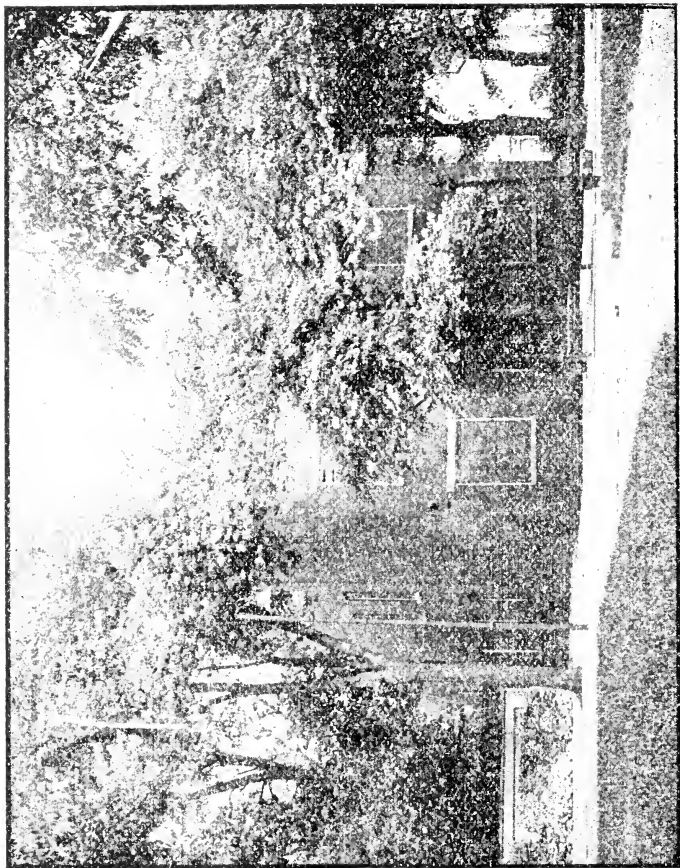
was one of great importance, and demanded great vigilance and ability in the administration of its military concerns. Kentucky was a border state, in which there was a large element of disaffection toward the national Government, and sympathy with those in rebellion against it. Formidable invasions have been attempted, and are now threatened. Four of the States have a river border, and are in perpetual danger of invasion. The enforcement of the late conscription law was foreseen as a positive necessity. In Ohio, Indiana and Illinois a class of mischievous politicians had succeeded in poisoning the minds of a portion of the community with the rankest feelings of disloyalty. Artful men, disguising their latent treason, under hollow pretensions of devotion to the Union, were striving to disseminate their pestilent heresies among the masses of the people. The evil was one of alarming magnitude and threatened seriously to impede the military operations of the Government, and greatly to protract the war. Gen. Burnside was not slow to perceive the dangerous consequences of these disloyal efforts, and in the exercise of his discretion he issued the Order No. 38.

There is too much of the pestilential leaven of disloyalty in the community. There is a class of men in the loyal states who seem to have no just appreciation of the deep criminality of those who are in arms avowedly for the overthrow of the Government. They have not, I fear, risen to any right estimate of their duties and obligations as American citizens, to a government which has strewn its blessings with a profuse hand, and is felt only in the benefits it bestows. It may be as-

sumed, I trust, that in most of the Northern States reliable and unswerving patriotism is the rule, and disloyalty and treason the exception. Those who live under the protection and enjoy the blessings of our benignant government, must learn that they cannot stab its vitals with impunity. If they cherish hatred and hostility to it, and desire its subversion, let them withdraw from its jurisdiction and seek the fellowship and protection of those with whom they are in sympathy. If they remain *with* us, while they are not *of* us, they must be subject to such a course of dealing as the great law of self-preservation prescribes and will enforce. It is rare, indeed, that a charge of disloyalty will be made upon insufficient grounds, and I confess I am but little moved by the eloquent appeals of those who, while they indignantly denounce violations of personal liberty, look with no horror upon a despotism as unmitigated as the world has ever witnessed. I am constrained to refuse the writ."

"Hon." Clement L. Vallandigham was then sent beyond the lines.

In the month of May, 1863, as Private S. F. Nunnelee of the Fifty-first Alabama regiment was on picket about five miles from Murfreesboro, Tennessee, a Federal officer, entirely unattended and carrying a flag of truce, rode up and inquired for the officer in command, and through him for the colonel of the regiment. Colonel John D. Webb was on the line, a couple of miles to the rear, and Private Nunnelee was sent to inform him that the Federals were desirous of passing the noted Clement L. Vallandigham within the



THE SEWARD-BLAINE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
Where Secretary Seward was attacked by the Assassin.

Confederate lines, as per order of the Secretary of War. This move had been anticipated, as Vallandigham's sentence had been promulgated, but the Confederate Government had no desire to accept him. Had he come as a recruit for the ranks, he would have been welcome, but as a banished politician he was a guest whom no one cared to entertain. Colonel Webb took his time about riding to the front, and as he got there Nunnelee was sent down the highway to investigate a second white flag. This was waving above a vehicle drawn by one horse and occupied by a Federal lieutenant and Vallandigham. The officer was driving, and the banished politician was sitting very stiff and erect. But few words were passed as the officer drew rein. He said to Nunnelee:

"Here is Vallandigham, sentenced to banishment."

And to the great politician he said:

"Come, I have no time to spare."

"I protest against this outrage—solemnly protest," answered Vallandigham.

"Yes, but hurry up. I'll take your trunk off. Jump down, now—good day."

And the officer sprang into the vehicle, turned the horse around, and went off at a fast trot, leaving Vallandigham and the Confederate soldier together on the highway. Previous to the war Mr. Nunnelee was editor of a paper at Eutaw, and Vallandigham was one of its readers. As they stood there the private soldier introduced himself and the politician gave him a hearty shake of the hand and said:

"What on earth are you doing here?"

"In the ranks."

"And are such men as you fighting in the ranks of the Confederate army?"

"Thousands of us."

"Then that settles it—the North can never conquer you."

After some further talk the soldier carried the politician's trunk into a deserted negro cabin a quarter of a mile away and then went for his Colonel. Webb came slowly up and as he dismounted at the hut the banished Northerner said:

"Col. Webb, I am Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of Ohio and the United States, imprisoned, vilified and banished from my country for my love of liberty and free speech."

The Colonel stiffly answered:

"Mr. Vallandigham, as a citizen of Ohio and the United States, you are my enemy. As one banished for his love of liberty, for which the South is fighting to-day, I bid you welcome to the Southern Confederacy."

They then entered into a general conversation lasting about half an hour, at the end of which Private Nunnelee secured a conveyance and Vallandigham and his baggage was received inside the Confederate lines. The incident made quite a stir at the picket post, and could the men have had their way they would have headed the man for the Federal line and obliged him to return, as they counted far more on muskets than speeches to win their cause.

Later, Vallandigham went to Canada where he lived

like a prince, for many months, being lionized both by the conspirators in the North, and by the rebels in Canada, and when he had seen with great delight that the Order had increased in numbers sufficiently, and were prepared for war, he came boldly back from his exile and returned to Ohio, where for reasons best known to the authorities, he was suffered to remain unmolested. But even a "Supreme Commander," though high sounding his title and rank, dwindles to insignificance when the legion whom he would have commanded has been vanquished and scattered beyond the possibility of rally or succor. The "Supreme Commander" was heard of no more till called before the Military Commission as a witness, but he "knew not" and never "supposed" there was or had been a treason plot against the Government.

Gov. Horatio Seymour, of New York, said, under date of July 16, 1863—the very next day after the suppression of the terrible Draft Riot in New York City, in relation to the arrest of Clement L. Vallandigham, Supreme Commander of the Order of Conspirators:

"The action of the Administration will determine in the minds of more than half of the people of the loyal states, whether this war is waged to put down rebellion at the South, or to destroy the free institutions at the North. We look for its decision with the most solemn solicitude."

A copy of resolutions of similar tone and spirit being transmitted to President Lincoln, the President replied in language terse, forcible, patriotic, logical and unmistakable in meaning; in that able paper the following paragraphs occur:

“Even in times of peace bands of horse thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary Courts of Justice. But what comparison in numbers have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers, even in many of the loyal States? Again, a jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor. And yet again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.” * * *

“The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his Government is discussed cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered he is sure to help the enemy; much more if he talks ambiguously—talks for his country with ‘buts’ and ‘ifs’ and ‘ands.’ * * * In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests, rather than too many. * * * Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertion from the army; and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the Administration, or the personal interests of the Commanding General, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the Nation depends.

"He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonable satisfactory evidence. * . * Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires and the law and the Constitution sanction this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, a brother, or friend, into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings until he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked Administration of a contemptible Government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator and to save the boy, is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

"I can no more be persuaded that the Government can Constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man, because it can be shown not to be good for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting that the American people will, by means of military arrests during the rebellion, lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech

and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury and habeas corpus, throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness, as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life." * * *

"In this time of national peril I would have preferred to meet you upon a level one step higher than any party platform; because I am sure that, from such more elevated position, we could do better battle for the Country we all love than we possibly can from those lower ones where, from the force of habit, the prejudices of the past, and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with and aiming blows at each other. But, since you have denied me this, I will yet be thankful, for the Country's sake that not all Democrats have done so. He on whose discretionary judgment Mr. Vallandigham was arrested and tried is a Democrat, having no old party affinity with me; and the Judge who rejected the Constitutional view expressed in these resolutions, by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandigham on habeas corpus, is a democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson."

"And still more of all those democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battle-field, I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it. I can assert that there are none such." * * *

“ One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specially called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this act as at least a fair appeal to me on the expediency of exercising a Constitutional power which I think exists. In response to such appeal, I have to say it gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested—that is, I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him—and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him so soon as I can, by any means, believe the public safety will not suffer by it. Still I must continue to do so much as may seem to be required by the public safety.”

A. LINCOLN.

PARTISAN RANCOR IN THE NORTH DURING THE WAR.

Not more by open warfare of rebels in the field was the life of the Nation menaced than by the teachings of traitors, in the privacy of the “Temples,” in public prints and public harangues, the aim, purpose and effect of which was to corrupt to an alarming and dangerous extent the public sentiment and public heart, thus increasing the force, power and agencies of the rebellion in the land. With what amazement and horror will patriotic people of today read paragraphs from the debates of a National Convention in Chicago in 1864—a convention called to nominate a Chief magistrate of the Nation, and to enunciate the polity and wisdom of the

party, and to give utterance to sentiments which it was hoped by the party leaders would awaken echoes in the hearts of the people of the Nation; to listen to such expressions from such sources, and to turn to the columns of an influential news journal, an exponent of the party politics, and reaching many thousands of families, instilling its poison into the hearts of the young and misleading the old, and this at the very hour of the Nation's greatest peril!

Not greater will be the horror of the reader for the sentiments expressed, than amazement for the patience and forbearance of loyal people, and of the marvelous leniency of the authorities—leniency so great as to elicit just censure and astonishment.

But few expressions of the kind need find place upon our pages, and these only to prove the wise precautions of the commander of the Post in detailing, as he did, men to fire the salute for the nomination, with the cannon of the camp, for it was known to him as well as to Vallandigham that the privately uttered sentiments of the "Supreme Council" of conspirators found open expression from the "Peace wing" of the convention. In view of the exigencies of the hour, it was wiser far to hold the fuse and the cannon, than to trust them to those most liable to put them to baser uses.

None can doubt that the assassination of President Lincoln was perpetrated through the teaching of the conspirators, incited by the harangues of its leaders, and the will of the head of the Order, whispered in the Councils of members who had made the greatest proficiency in the fiendish creed and ritual—an individual

true to the obligations imposed upon him by the Order, went forth upon his mission of blood!

During the debates of the "Peace wing" of the National Convention,

S. S. Cox said:

"He had attempted in his own city, a few weeks since, to show, in a very quiet way, that Abraham Lincoln had deluged the country with blood, created a debt of four thousand million of dollars, sacrificed two millions of human lives, and filled the land with grief and mourning."

An impious man, who had listened attentively to his remarks, sang out, "G—d d—n him!"

"For less offenses than Mr. Lincoln had been guilty of," continued the member, "the English people had chopped off the head of the first Charles. In his opinion, Lincoln and Davis ought to be brought to the same block together."

C. Chauncey Burr, editor of several Copperhead New York journals, said:

"And it was a wonder that they had a Cabinet, and men who carried out the infamous orders of the gorilla tyrant that usurped the Presidential chair!"

Capt. Koontz, of Pittsburg, an ardent McClellan leader, said:

"If Democrats catch Lincoln's bloody spies among them, they must cut their d—d throats, that's all! [Applause.] It is the duty of every American to vote for a peace candidate."

Baker, of Michigan, said:

"Let us hurl that usurper from power! Never til

that day comes when the usurper and his victim meet at the judgment seat, can he be punished for his wrongs, for his conspiracy against American liberty!"

Benjamin Allen, of New York, said:

"The people will soon rise, and if they cannot put Lincoln out of power by the ballot, they *will* by the bullet!" [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Stambaugh, a delegate from Ohio, said:

"That, if he was called upon to elect between freedom of the nigger and disunion and separation, he would choose the latter!"

"They might search hell over and they could not find a worse President than Abraham Lincoln!"

Hon. Mr. Trainor, of Ohio, said:

"He would urge the people to be freemen, and hurl Abraham Lincoln and his minions from power!"

Henry Clay Dean said:

"In the presence of the face of Camp Douglas and all the satraps of Lincoln, that the American people were ruled by felons! Lincoln has never turned a dishonest man out of office, or kept an honest man in. [A voice—'What have you to say of Jeff. Davis?'] I have nothing to say about him. Lincoln is engaged in a controversy with him, and I never interfere between black dogs!" "He blushed that such a felon should occupy the highest place in the gift of the people. Perjury and larceny were written over him as often as was 'One Dollar' on the one dollar bills of the bank of the State of Indiana. (Cries of the 'old villain!') The Democracy were for peace."

W. W. O'Brien, of Peoria, also threatened to try him

as Charles the First was tried, as a tyrant and a traitor, and if they found him guilty to hang him.

The essential unity of Copperheadism with assassination, further appears in the following remarks of Koontz, of Pennsylvania:

“Shall more wives be made widows, and more children fatherless, and greater hate be stirred up between children of the same glorious constitution? If not, we must put our foot upon the tyrant’s neck, and destroy it! The Democratic government must be raised to power, and Lincoln with his Cabinet of rogues, thieves and spies, be driven to destruction! What shall we do with him?” [A voice—“Send him here, and I’ll make a coffin for him, d——n him!”]

During the month of February, by Executive clemency a number of Copperheads were released from confinement in Washington, where they had been placed as a measure of public safety. A Chicago daily published, and other Copperhead papers echoed, the following:

“We submit that this fact should damn this Administration, not only for all time, but, if there be justice hereafter, to all eternity. There is not a single civilized government in existence to-day, against which can be charged a similar display of tyranny. With the title of being the freest government of modern ages, we have shown ourselves to be one whose disregard of right and whose outrageous assumptions of power are only paralleled in the reign of despots.

The liberty of fifty men may seem a small affair; but the matter has not so much reference to the magnitude

of the offence, as it has to the principle which underlies it. The moment Mr. Lincoln, or Mr. Seward, or any other man, dares to deprive one person of his liberty without due process of law, that moment has the government been changed from one of the people to an autocracy—a tyranny. If any man to-day is free in this country, it is not because he is a good citizen, surrounded by the protection of the laws, but simply because Seward or Lincoln has not chosen to order his incarceration.

The epitaph of posterity upon this people is easily anticipated. It will be—died 24,000,000 of whites, who lost their liberties and lives in an attempt to give a fictitious freedom to 4,000,000 negroes.”

“*Sic semper tyrannis!*” exclaims Booth, who has read the above article and heard such sentiments, and the mission of the conspirators is accomplished.

Gen. Burnett, Judge Advocate of the Military Commission who tried the assassins of the President and the conspirators in Indianapolis and Chicago, in his argument made use of the following language:

“There seems to have been something, during these four years of the nation’s trial, that has appeared to paralyze the native instincts of the American heart. This phantom, this syren of secession with her enticing song, seems to have lulled to sleep the better part of human nature. At the sound of her voice, and the flash of her eye, men have sprung to arms, to grapple with the life of the nation, because it was free! They have followed, at the beck of the syren, over desolated homes; they have trampled over the dead corpses of

murdered brothers, and innocent women and children. They have blackened the land with desolation, and made it the abode of moaning and woe. She has blinded, while she has demoralized them. Old men, forgetting their white hairs, have joined in the conspiracy at the beck of this phantom, who has taken out of the human heart its heaven-born instincts, to plant there those of vengeance, and the thirst for blood.

My tongue falters as I look over this country and see bereaved widows and orphans, the white-haired patriots that mourn for the first-born, that shall ne'er greet them, and those who sit at the desolate hearth, with hands upraised, waiting for the knock that will be but the death-knell of all their hopes; and think that the phantom of secession has caused all this!

Men who were kind fathers, kind husbands and noble patriots, have forgotten it all in a day, and have become traitors, and inculcated doctrines that have, by the hands of fiends, stricken down that patriotic and noble leader of the human race. There is something in it which no man can comprehend. The doctrines which they inculcate harden the heart, and nerve the arm to crime, enabling them to commit robbery, arson and murder, for all is in her category; and as they commit those crimes, they appeal to God for the justness of their cause. That is what has deceived these men; it is this accursed phantom of secession that has blinded their eyes; that has cooled their hearts and filled them with vengeance. It is this that has changed and perverted the human instincts, that should have ruled in their breasts."

THE FAMOUS ST. ALBANS RAID.

The St. Albans raid is not only illustrative of the Confederate mode of harrassing the northern border, but also evidences the deeds and designs of the conspirators in the North.

This raid, which has become so famous in the history of this war, was first started by a Texan, named *Bracey*, belonging to one of the rebel Texan regiments. This man for four or five years before the war, had been going to one of the schools or colleges (according to his own account of himself,) in St. Albans, and was well acquainted, both with the city and country, in the immediate neighborhood. He gave all the information he could, and offered to return there to get more, which he, with one or two rebel soldiers did, and obtained all the necessary information that would, in any way, aid them in their criminal designs. Upon their report, on their return to Canada, the fitting out of the expedition immediately began—the money, arms, etc., being furnished by the rebel agents in Montreal or Quebec. Of the details of this affair, as carried out, the people have been fully advised by the newspapers, and, to all intents and purposes, the raid has been a success, or has operated in this manner by the winding and twisting course of the Canadian law courts, which seem to be actuated by no fixed principles, but wavering between the fear of the public opinion of the American people, and their desire to aid the rebels in overturning the government—and had it not been for the sudden turn the war had taken, the people along the northern border would have been subjected to numerous other and similar raids.

The St. Albans raid was only a part of one grand scheme of the rebels, for the past two years, to inaugurate a new mode of warfare entirely beyond the pale of that waged by civilized nations, and a relic of the more barbarous ages.

This new mode of warfare, or incendiarism, as it is generally called, was first started by the rebel government, after the fall of Memphis, Tennessee, for the purpose of destroying vessels, loaded with government property, and cut off the communications of the armies in the lower countries, with their depots of supplies; with this end in view, companies of men were regularly enlisted for this purpose, and after a time, the sympathies and the aid rendered the rebellion by certain classes of people at the North, justified them in extending its pernicious effects further North. Companies were enlisted and sent through the lines, with orders to burn public buildings, army stores, and supplies, whenever they could find them. Thus far, secret agents of the rebels were scattered all over the North, in small squads, whenever there was a prospect of doing injury to the government; and it is to the efforts of these men, that the country is indebted for the wholesale destruction of steamboat and other property at St. Louis, Cairo, and other places on the western rivers; these men performing the incendiary acts frequently upon information furnished them by sympathizing friends.

The public are already aware of the manner in which some of these acts of incendiarism terminated, especially the attempt of Capt. Kennedy and others, holding commissions in the rebel service, to burn New York

city. If ever a man deserved his fate, Kennedy certainly did, and the public, having been saved, unscathed, can never fully realize the enormity of his crime. One, knowing, of these men being in the North for this purpose, can readily admit the justice of the punishment awarded them; but upon reviewing all the facts, will as readily declare that they were less guilty than those citizens of the North, who aided them in their designs, by furnishing them information and otherwise co-operating with them, even receiving them into their families, knowing them to be public enemies, and in arms against the country.

CHAPTER XVII.

TREASONABLE ORDERS IN RELATION TO THE CONSCRIPTION—FULL DETAILS OF THE DRAFT RIOT.

Allusion has been made to the terrible outbreak in New York—the ever memorable Draft Riot, which by a certain class of people was charged upon the “working men” of the city! A baser libel or more despicable slander was never uttered. It was known to the authorities at Washington, and is known to those now living who participated in that horrid affair, either as aiders or abettors and directors, or officers of the Government, that the Riot was incited, countenanced and led and urged onward by the secret treasonable Order, the “Knights of the Golden Circle” and “American Knights.” It was not the “working class” who perpetrated the overt acts of treason, murder, incendiarism, and robbery, but the crimes which shock humanity and should forever cover with infamy the names and memory of the vile beings really guilty and responsible,

were plotted and executed by scoundrels who never performed honest labor—revolutionists, adventurers, disappointed politicians, traitors to their country, thieves and assassins, high-toned villains as well as “the unwashed” who hoped to profit by national disaster and ruin of the nation.

It was deemed expedient by the General Government to enforce the Conscription law as a measure indispensable to the life of the nation. Upon the first announcement of such purpose, a leading New York journal, the *World*, published the following:

“Whether the weak and reckless men who temporarily administer the Federal Government are aware of the fact or not, it is undeniably a fact, that the very existence of the Government they administer is quite as seriously involved in the execution of the conscription which they are now putting in force, as it has been in any other measure or event of the war. * * * Such were the circumstances which attended its final passage, * that one might almost have supposed the national legislature to be an oligarchic conspiracy plotting a vast scheme of military servitude, rather than the Council of a great people giving form to its independent determination and organizing its force for the assertion of its freedom.”

Many men were discontented and dissatisfied with what they regarded as an unnecessary stretch of Governmental control over individual liberty.

The Provost Marshal of New York City announced that the draft would begin on Saturday, the 11th of

*The Conscription act.

July, 1863, and it began as announced. At first all the proceedings passed off peaceably, but during the night and the next day, the opposition to the draft increased rapidly, marked by excitement that was ominous.

The worst classes of the city now took up the movement, and, with that blindness which always characterizes them, resolved upon a forcible resistance to the draft. Meetings were held at various places in the city, some openly and some in *secret*, but in all the same measures were determined upon. It was resolved by these Conspirators that the draft should be forcibly topped the next day.

Monday, July 13, the city was full of excitement, and those who had resolved upon forcible resistance were very active. They sent committees from work shop to work shop, etc., to compel the workmen to abandon their labors and join the processions forming at different points in the city. Matters wore a threatening aspect. The processions were led by resolute and desperate men, and marched toward the scene of the drafting. The office of the Provost Marshal was surrounded by a dense crowd at an early hour in the morning, and as soon as it was opened was filled by the populace. The draft was scarcely resumed when missiles were thrown through the windows, doors were broken down, furniture demolished, and one of the deputies nearly killed.

The fury of the mob increased and the building was set on fire, and the entire block was soon in ashes. Another mob collected down town, and there began acts of violence and robbery. The city was almost defenceless, most of the troops having been sent to Pennsyl-

vania. Gen. J. E. Wool, of the regular army, was in command of the city, and Maj. Gen. Sandford was commander of the State troops of the first division, but nearly all were in Pennsylvania. Gen. Wool, Gen. Sandford and Mayor Opdyke met to devise measures to check the riot. There were very few men in the city capable of bearing arms who could be relied upon, and the forces at the harbor defences and the navy yard were small. The city was panic-stricken, and the fury of the mob was increasing. The police were called to be in readiness, the commandant at the navy yard was called on for a detachment of marines, the same demand was made upon the commanders of the forts, and the condition of affairs telegraphed to Washington and to Albany, and veteran volunteers were called into service.

Meanwhile the mob increased in numbers. Thieves and malefactors of the city joined with the Conspirators, hoping for rich harvests of plunder, and their hopes were realized. They gathered in the vicinity of Forty-sixth street and Third avenue, and detachments of the main body set fire to and plundered several fine brown-stone residences on Lexington avenue. While this was being done, a detachment of about fifty marines from the Brooklyn navy yard, in charge of a lieutenant, was seen approaching in a Third avenue car. The mob prepared to receive them. Tearing up the rails, they rendered it impossible for the car to be drawn beyond Forty-third street, and at that point several thousand men, women and children stood anxiously waiting for the storming party. Many of them, especially women, were armed with pieces of heavy tele-

graph wire, which they had broken from the lines, and which they used with great effect.

Such a scene has rarely or never been witnessed since the days of the first French Revolution. The men were malignant in their appearance, the women were merry, singing and dancing like so many fiends, rejoicing in their deeds of violence, and boasted of what should yet be done. As the car reached the center of the block, the Lieutenant in command ordered his men to form in line. Groups of women and children greeted them with hisses and derisive cheers; but the marines marched toward the larger mob at the corner. The Lieutenant ordered the crowd to disperse, but this was sullenly refused. He then ordered his men to fire, which they did, with blank cartridges. The smoke had not cleared away before the infuriated mob rushed with vengeance upon the little band, seized their muskets, trampled them under foot, beat them with the long wires and laughed at their helplessness. Several of the marines escaped into the side streets, but each fugitive was pursued and a number were killed, and all others terribly beaten.

From this moment, resistance by the mob was no longer thought of, attack was their cry. A squad of police tried to arrest some of the ringleaders at this point, but they were defeated, badly beaten and one of the policemen killed. Elated by their success, and infuriated by the sight of blood, the mob proposed an immediate onslaught upon the principal streets, the hotels and other public buildings.

Then the Colored Orphan Asylum, a handsome

edifice on Fifth Avenue, between 43d and 44th streets, was attacked by the mob. The building contained at the time between 700 and 800 children. Elated by the defeat of the marines and the police, the rioters hurried to Fifth Avenue and surrounded the Asylum. The doors and windows were broken in, and the ruffians rushed into the building, drove the women and nurses out, kicked and beat the helpless children, seized everything they could lift, threw their plunder into the streets, where it was carried off by their women, and the mob then set fire to the building, and it was soon in flames. The mob then withdrew to another part of the city.

While this was going on another band of rioters made a furious attack upon the State Armory, at the corner of Twenty First Street and Second Avenue, in the effort to get possession of the arms which the Government had stored in that building.

The police were in charge of the premises. The mob at this point numbered several thousand men, who, finding the building closed against them, broke down the doors with sledge-hammers and stones and rushed in. The police discharged their pistols, killing two men, which caused the mob to fall back for a moment, but only to rush in again; then the police fired another volley, killing three more men. The rioters rushed upon the police and a hand-to-hand fight ensued in which the police being outnumbered, were forced to make their escape by a back door. The mob then fired the building and it was burned to the ground.

About noon, the office of the Provost Marshal, corner

of Broadway and Twenty-Eighth Street, was sacked and fired, and the entire block, of which this was the center building, was destroyed. A demand was made upon the proprietor of the famous "Bull's Head Tavern," on Forty-Fourth Street, between Lexington and Fourth Avenues, that he should supply liquor for the crowd. Upon his refusal to do so, his house was plundered and burned to the ground. The residences of the Provost Marshal, Postmaster, and other buildings were also burnt.

The mob moved down to City Hall Park where their numbers were greatly increased by boys and men who had made demonstrations in front of the *Tribune* office, and now a rush was made at the office, doors were burst open, the inmates put to flight, the furniture broken and preparations made to fire the building, but the police arrived and made a gallant charge upon the mob, and drove them off and saved the building. This movement of the police was so sudden and vigorous, that it struck terror to the rioters, and they fled in every direction.

Negroes were the especial objects of the fury of the mob. During the day at least a dozen of them were brutally murdered. Others were driven into the river, beaten, or forced to leave the city. Whenever a negro was so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the mob, he was treated with the most savage cruelty. The rioters seemed to lose all humanity in dealing with the blacks, and toward all their victims, white and black, their conduct was most inhuman.

Throughout the day the city was at the mercy of

the mob, and but for the police, the damage done would have been much greater.

Among the first acts of the rioters was the destruction of nearly all the telegraph-wires leading from the city to the Capitol at Albany; thus hoping to cut off means of communication between the Governor and municipal authorities from the Adjutant-General's office in Albany, from whence orders for the movement of troops would be issued. Every wire was cut, the poles thrown for a great distance through the streets, with the single exception of one wire, connecting Jersey City with New York, through a cable unknown to the mob. This wire was owned by the Erie Railroad Company and intended for their business alone. The Governor took possession of this line and kept it "red hot" for three days and nights, transmitting orders for his Adjutant General, by the circuitous route from Jersey City via. Binghamton to Utica, New York, and from thence back to Albany, for the organization and immediate marching orders of a sufficient force of State Militia to quell the disturbance. He at once issued a proclamation declaring the City and County of New York to be in a state of insurrection. This proclamation was of no avail, the riot having become too formidable and the rioters too greatly emboldened to be put down by aught except superior force.

On Tuesday, July 14th, the outlook of the city was gloomy indeed; the stores were closed, business wholly suspended and the citizens were preparing, each one, to make such defence of his home and property as lay in his power. The Police had been busy during the

night, but it was evident these brave men would not be able to contend successfully with the miscreants for an indefinite time. Gen. Wool had placed Gen. Harvey Brown in command of the city, and had also given the same command to Gen. Sandford, and this confusion led to difficulties during the day, that were almost fatal to the cause of order.

The commanding officers of the various harbor forts, had sent detachments to the place of rendezvous appointed by Gen. Sandford, and a small force of militia and volunteers had been collected, so that the authorities were now in a condition to make some progress in restoring order.

The rioters had been greatly re-inforced during the night, however, and early in the morning resumed their outrages. They directed their hostility chiefly against the negroes. No mercy was shown to the blacks. Their neighborhoods were invaded, many buildings fired and old men and feeble women beaten most brutally. Whenever a negro was caught by the rioters, he was murdered.

During the day Col. O'Brien at the head of a detachment of his regiment succeeded in dispersing a mob on Third Avenue. In the confusion of the charge he sprained his ankle, and went to a drug store while his command followed up the rioters. After the troops passed on, a crowd collected about the store, and the proprietor, fearing for his property, requested the Colonel to leave the place. O'Brien complied with this inhuman request and went forth alone undaunted into the street. He was instantly received by the mob with

abuse for his course in dispersing their friends. He answered them calmly, and urged them to go home and submit to the law; but while speaking, some cowardly ruffian—as usual with Conspirators—crept behind him and struck him a blow, which laid him senseless upon the ground.

The brutal crowd instantly fell upon him and beat him unmercifully; and seizing his almost lifeless body, dragged it through the streets with shouts and groans, for several hours, and finally dragged it in front of his residence, where they heaped the most brutal insults upon it. A priest of the Catholic church courageously forced his way through the crowd, and read over the body the prayers for the dying. This done, he ordered the remains to be taken into the house, and hastened away to another point where he hoped to do good, but he had hardly departed when a brutal savage stamped upon the corpse, which was also done by many others.

The Military were very active during the day, and several conflicts occurred between them and the mob, in which the latter were invariably defeated. A crowd of about two thousand men had collected at the corner of Grand and Pitt streets. Lieut. Wood, with 150 regulars from Fort Lafayette, was sent to clear the street. Upon reaching the place, he ordered the crowd to disperse, and was answered with a volley of paving stones. He then caused his men to fire over the heads of the rioters, with the hope of intimidating them, but this producing no effect, he ordered the troops to fire with ball cartridges. Twelve persons were killed and several wounded by this discharge, and the rioters fled

in every direction. Two children were among the killed. In various parts of the city efforts were made by the mob to resist the troops; but as soon as ball cartridges were used by the latter, all resistance ceased.

As the crowds would re-assemble immediately after being dispersed, the authorities found that it would be needful to adopt some more extensive plan of operations. The militia regiments which had been sent to Pennsylvania had been ordered home by the Secretary of War, and other troops were on their way to the city from Meade's army, as were also the militia from the interior of the State. Still it was necessary to act promptly, for much damage might be done by the mob before this aid could arrive.

About noon a mob assembled in front of the *Tribune* office. Gov. Seymour at this moment appeared at the steps of the City hall, and the crowd called upon him for a speech, with which he complied, and in which he said: "I have sent my Adjutant General to Washington to confer with the authorities there to *have this draft suspended and stopped*. Wait until my Adjutant returns from Washington, and you shall be satisfied." His speech gave great satisfaction to the rioters.

During the day of the 15th of July several of the regiments returned from Pennsylvania, and these were followed the next day by others, and by regiments of veterans from Meade's army. The ring leaders of the mob were arrested and imprisoned, and their followers disheartened and demoralized. The troops, as soon as they arrived, were stationed throughout the city, and their vigilance and promptness, together with a general

diffusion of the knowledge that the draft was suspended for the time, soon put a stop to the disorder. By the night of the 16th of July all organized resistance had ceased. The number of persons killed during this terrible riot is not known. The mortality statistics for the week, show an increase of 450 over the average weekly mortality for the year. Governor Seymour stated in his message that the number of killed and wounded is estimated to be at least *one thousand*.

The draft was suspended in New York city upon the filling of the city's quota by volunteers, but it was the purpose of the Government to enforce it in other parts of the state. The Governor asked the President to suspend the draft until the constitutionality of the Conscription law could be determined by the Courts, to which President Lincoln replied—"I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New York as you request, because, among other things, *time* is too important." * * "I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the Judges thereof, on the Constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I shall be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it, but I can not consent to *lose the time while it is being obtained*.

"We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able bodied man he can reach in his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be

matched on our side, if we first waste time to re-experiment with the volunteer system, already deemed by Congress, and palpably, in fact so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a Court decision as to whether a law is Constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go.

“My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our Common Country.”

Your Obedient Servant,

A. LINCOLN.”

There can be no doubt in the mind of any candid and intelligent person who has carefully read and as carefully considered that the Draft Riot grew directly out of the teachings of the copperhead prints, while to the writer and to the Judge Advocate General, and indeed to others who, from the most careful investigation and personal observation, learned beyond the possibility of a doubt that the Riot was incited, countenanced and directed by the leaders of the “Temples,” and the “Grand” and “Supreme Councils” of the Order “Knights of the Golden Circle,” alias “American Knights,” and upon them must ever rest the terrible crimes which they, and men of like ilk, would fain charge upon the “working men” of our country from whose patriotic hearts and muscles of steel, and endurance

acquired by honest toil, the nation is largely and chiefly indebted for its very existence today and for that power, perpetuity, glory and honor won and forever assured by their patriotism and their valor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—ASSAULT UPON SECRETARY SEWARD—NEW AND IMPORTANT FACTS—PLOT LAID IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH SIMULTANEOUSLY—BUILDINGS MADE NOTABLE BY ASSASSINS—THE PLOT TO KIDNAP THE PRESIDENT CHANGED TO ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT AND CABINET.

The story of the assassination is so generally known that a condensed record of the more prominent facts will suffice:

On the evening of April 14, 1865, the President accompanied by his wife and a party of friends attended Ford's Theater in Washington. Soon after ten o'clock, as the play drew near its close, John Wilkes Booth, a well-known actor stole into the box occupied by the President and shot him through the brain.

Mr. Lincoln was conveyed to a house near the theater, where he lingered in a comatose condition till morning and died.

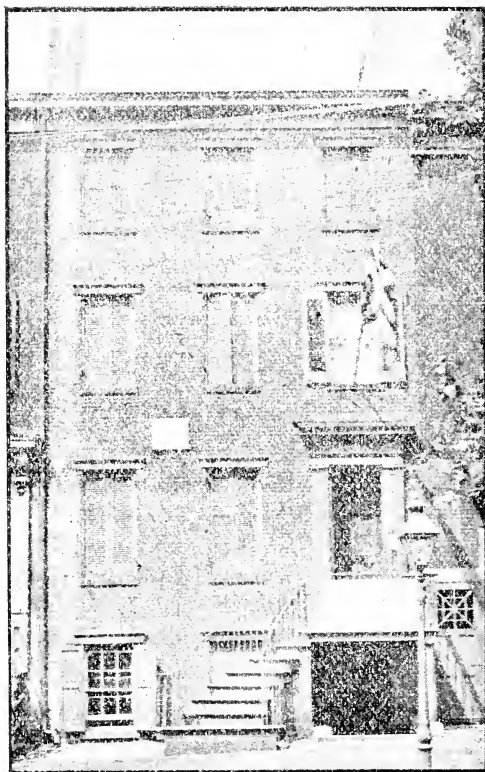
Thus in darkness closed the career of the great, prudent, far-seeing, resolute, just, patient and tender-hearted Lincoln—a man, the record of whose daily life in public or private, will be the highest eulogium of the virtues, the genius, and the wisdom that has made his name immortal, and for all time hallowed it in the hearts of his countrymen, and the worthy throughout the world.

“ He had been born a destined work to do,
And lived to do it; four long-suffering years—
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report lived through—
And then he heard the hisses changed to cheers.
The words of mercy were upon his lips—
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When the vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good will to men.”

Scarcely had the report of the revolver startled the assembled concourse, than Booth sprang from the box to the stage, and though he broke a leg in doing so, he escaped through the rear entrance of the building, near which a fleet horse was held by one Edward Spangler, and in an instant of time, Booth and his chief accomplice, David E. Herold, were making all speed to escape.

They fled across Navy Yard bridge, and quickly all traces of them were lost, even to the clattering of horses' hoofs.

Many incidents, bearing upon the deed, were related by the excited throng. It had been observed by the door-keeper, that four or five times during the evening,



HOUSE IN WHICH PRESIDENT LINCOLN DIED.

Booth had entered and retired from the theater without speaking to any one, and more than once had been seen in the saloon of the theater drinking brandy.

The city was wild with alarm. Troops of cavalry departed in every direction in search of the assassins, whose flight was continued, until at last they found concealment in a barn near Port Royal on the Rappahannock, and but for his broken limb and terrible suffering consequent, Booth would doubtless have made good his escape. He was aided by Thomas A. Jones, whose fidelity to the assassin was worthy a better cause. The pursuers came swiftly, and on the 26th of April discovered the fugitives and summoned them to surrender, but the demand was defiantly refused, when the pursuers set the barn on fire and again called upon the men within to surrender without a moment's delay. Herold came out, and upon demand threw up his arms and was taken prisoner, but Booth evidently preferred death by the flames rather than by the gallows, and again defiantly answered the order to come forth and give himself up; the flames were swift and furious and the heat intolerable—perhaps not more painful than the swollen and dangling limb,—which he bore without a groan. Finally he stepped outside the burning building, but only to meet his death by a bullet in his neck, from which he died some three hours later. The fatal shot was fired by Sergeant Boston Corbett.

Booth was buried in the arsenal grounds in Washington, but later the body was delivered to his brother, Edwin Booth, and buried in the family burial grounds, Greenmount, Baltimore.

The assassination plot included President Lincoln, Vice President Johnson and every member of the cabinet. At the very time Mr. Lincoln was shot, Lewis Thornton Powell, alias Payne, burst into the bed chamber of Secretary Seward and stabbed him nigh unto death.

In the trial of the Conspirators, every possible effort was made to secure executive clemency for Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, in whose house the details of the plot were devised, but in vain. It was in evidence that she had sent two carbines and a field glass to John M. Lloyd's tavern, Surrattsville, which it was believed were intended for Booth and Herold. She was convicted and sentenced to be hanged. The dying service of the Catholic church was administered to her, and she was executed. Doubts of her guilt have ever existed in the minds of many people who knew her. She was a native of Baltimore, Maryland, and in early life was an acknowledged belle. In 1853 she was married to Mr. Surratt, who died in 1862. She then went to Washington and leased the house on H street which she kept as a boarding house, and which was the headquarters of the Conspirators. John Surratt, her son, went to Italy, but was brought back for trial, which, however, was prevented by the statute of limitation.

Booth was a Baltimorean by birth, but of English descent, and was the last man, perhaps, who would have been deemed capable of committing the horrid crime,—being a young man of modest bearing, winning manners and a favorite in high social circles in the North, yet often moody, nervous and restless. A few weeks

before the assassination he played an engagement at Ford's Theater.

His incoherent and insane letter, handed to the United States Marshal in Philadelphia subsequent to the perpetration of the deed, but written only a few days prior to it, was chiefly a rehash of the sentiments and teachings of the "American Knights" and "Sons of Liberty"—containing whole passages from their ritual, showing conclusively his familiarity with these treasonable Orders; and whether he committed the deed for the price of blood stipulated by the Order, both in the South and North, or from love of notoriety, or was a victim of monomania by association with anarchists, revolutionists and other bad men, or from other incentive, will never be known with certainty.

That Booth inherited a mental conformation most liable to aberration of mind is possible. The last time the elder Booth—his father—played Richard III. in this country, he became so absorbed in the part he was personating, that to him it was reality, and he would surely have slain his adversary, had the frightened actor not made a hurried exit from the stage.

Nothing can be more probable than that Booth executed the deadly deed that had been conceived, and urged as a duty by the Conspirators in their secret midnight assemblages, and not only there taught but expressed publicly by members of the Order upon the streets of Chicago, New York and elsewhere, when emboldened by the news of Union disasters in the field of battle.

It is not generally known, but it is nevertheless a fact, that two months after the time when the Conspirators in Chicago were discussing the subject of raising the sum of fifty thousand dollars to reward the person who would assassinate the President, a subscription was started in Alabama, and so announced in a Selma, Alabama, news-journal in December, 1864, for the purpose of raising funds to incite the assassination of the President, Vice President and Secretary Seward before inauguration day. For this statement there is incontrovertible proof.

It is the confident belief of the author of this work, unshaken by reflection of the years gone by since the terrible occurrence, that not only were the treasonable Orders *particeps criminis* in the assassination, but it was proposed and a price set thereon in October prior to its perpetration, and was openly discussed in the bitterness of debate at the Democratic National Convention by the "Peace faction," as well as in the secret conclaves of traitors in Chicago, in Alabama and elsewhere.

Booth met with retribution, while men eminent in the treasonable Order who countenanced, encouraged and directly or indirectly incited assassination, both of the President of the United States and of many Union soldiers, were later honored by appointments and political preferment, that with greater grace, patriotism and justice, should have been conferred upon the brave "boys in blue," who shed their blood in defense of their bleeding country; and those wretches who fattened at the public crib have been the most bitter opponents of measures for securing common justice in the matter of

pensions to the deserving defenders of the Nation. If further evidence in corroboration of these charges be required, "confirmation strong as Holy Writ" will be forthcoming, and it is the consciousness by the villains that such evidence but waits the summons, that has led to repeated attempts to assassinate the writer, and failing in this business, in which they and their brethren have had much experience, and acquired proficiency, they have hissed their vituperation, calumny and venom and applied their boycotting for years.

Judge Advocate, Gen. H. L. Burnett, who tried the assassins in Washington, and the Conspirators of Indiana and Illinois, wrote: "I have no doubt the accursed Order, Sons of Liberty, had much to do in the creation of the bitterness which culminated in the assassination of President Lincoln." Let the people profit by the facts and by the lesson!

There can be no doubt that the primary purpose and plot of Booth and his fellow assassins was to capture the President, and take him to Richmond, to be held as a hostage in the interest of the Confederacy, and that the plot was changed by the influence of the Secret treasonable Order, as will appear by an extract from the letter of Booth, to which allusion has been made.

"Most, or many, in the North do, and openly, curse the Union. I have of late been seeing and hearing of the bloody deeds of which she (the National flag) has been made the emblem. Now, in my eyes, her once bright red stripes look like bloody gashes on the face of Heaven. Nor do I deem it a dishonor in attempting to make for her (the South) a prisoner of this man, to whom she owes so much of misery."

David E. Herold, who accompanied Booth in his flight, as also Lewis Payne Powell, who assaulted Secretary Seward, with intent to kill; and George A. Atzerodt, a German, who had undertaken to assassinate Vice President Johnson,—but had no opportunity to execute his purpose,—were all executed upon the gallows July 7, 1865. Of the other Conspirators, Dr. Samuel Mudd, Michael O’Laughlin and Samuel Arnold were sentenced for life to the Dry Tortugas; and Spangler for six years in the same place. Mudd was, after a time, pardoned, and is now dead. Serg’t Boston Corbett has long been an inmate of an insane asylum.

Lewis Payne Powell, who attempted to kill Secretary Seward, was born in Alabama in 1845, and had served in the Confederate army.

George Atzerodt, a Confederate spy, was to perform the same cowardly part in removing Andrew Johnson, as Booth had enacted in relation to President Lincoln.

The story of the assassination is too well known to need further notice here; and has been introduced not only for the purpose of recording certain essential facts, not generally known, but it forms an important part of the Great Treason Plot, evidencing its wide extent and the characters who took part in its development and execution.

Directly across the street from Ford’s Theater stands the house in which President Lincoln died at 7:22 A. M. April 15, 1865. The house is now occupied by Capt. O. H. Oldroyd, author of “The Words of Lincoln,” with the Oldroyd Lincoln Memorial collection of nearly 3,000 relics pertaining to the Martyr President.

Among the relics is the hat he wore, and the chair in which he sat at the theater.

The old Surratt House stands at 541 H Street, N. W., between 6th and 7th streets. What scenes of horror does the view of this residence recall! There is nothing to attract the attention of the stranger as he passes the building—nothing to distinguish it from many others, but upon being informed that this was the rendezvous of Booth and his fellow conspirators, that in the pleasant front room of the second story, looking into the street, was where the assassination plot was discussed by Booth and his young Floridian friend and fellow conspirator, Lewis Thornton Powell, alias Payne; that there came Dr. Mudd and Michael O'Laughlin, and Sam Arnold and David Herold, Ed Spangler, Geo. A. Atzerodt and others—sworn conspirators, to exchange ideas and mature the hellish plot, till summoned to the tea-table by the landlady, Mrs. Mary E. Surratt—when the sightseer hears of this group, several of whom went to an ignominious death, and others to life-long imprisonment, exiled from home and country, he lingers with pallid face and earnest eye, and there is impressed upon his brain the lasting remembrance of this notable structure.

The old Seward-Blaine mansion, No. 17 Madison Place, opposite Lafayette Square, near the White House, has a history.

The site of this property, once owned by Henry Clay, passed to Commodore Rodgers, who built the mansion of which we write. It was afterwards owned by Hon. W. H. Seward, and later by Hon. James G. Blaine, who died in the mansion.

On the fatal night of April 14, 1865, Mr. Seward was lying ill in the southwest corner room in the third story—on the right hand of the picture—having been thrown from his carriage some days previously, receiving serious injuries to his face and arm. At the moment when Booth entered the theater on his errand of death, Lewis Thornton Powell, alias Payne, a young Floridian, also entered the mansion of Secretary Seward and inflicted three wounds about the Secretary's head and neck, and stabbed and beat several other persons before he made his escape.

This historic structure was recently torn down to give place to a theater building.

The above pictures are from photos by the accomplished artist, Charles H. Coe, Washington, D. C. Neither the Suratt House nor the Seward-Blaine Mansion photographs have ever before been published.

CHAPTER XIX.

ADDRESS OF H. H. DODD, THE GRAND COMMANDER TO THE GRAND COUNCIL OF INDIANA, FEBRUARY 16TH, 1864—TREASON EQUALLED ONLY BY AUDACITY—THE ORDER IS TO “RESTORE THE PEOPLE TO THEIR FIRESIDE RIGHTS,” ETC., WHEN “FANATICAL USURPERS AND WOULD-BE TYRANTS AND DICTATORS ARE SWEEPED AWAY WITH THE RUBBISH,” ETC.—“OUR CHERISHED VALLANDIGHAM RESIDES IN EXILE”—“NOT ANOTHER DOLLAR, NOT ANOTHER MAN FOR THIS NEFARIOUS WAR”—“THE HOUR FOR DARING DEEDS IS NOT DISTANT”—“SONS OF LIBERTY, ARISE!”

Councillors: This great brotherhood is entitled now to the respect of mankind, for the part it has enacted in the period anterior to the Revolution of 1776. Through it the Declaration was made, and the independence of



JOHN WILKES BOOTH,
The Assassin of President Lincoln.

the State achieved. This alone would endear it to every patriot heart, to every lover of republican institutions; if its history should stop here, when its operations were suspended, it were certainly enough—but still more glorious, superlatively brilliant, will be its history, when reinstated as it now is, it shall restore to this great people their *fireside rights*, a *pure elective franchise*, and an *untrammelled judiciary*; when fanatical usurpers and would-be tyrants and dictators are swept away with the rubbish that has been thrown to the surface in these extraordinary times; when once more the governing principle shall be the will of the governed, expressly declared; when no more power shall be exercised than is or has been derived from the people, the legitimate source of all power.

The great principle now in issue is the centralization of power, or the keeping it diffused in State sovereignty, as it is by the organic laws, constituting States and forming the General Government.

The creation of an empire or republic, or the reconstruction of the old Union, by brute force, is simply impossible. The liberation of four million blacks, and putting them upon an equality with the whites, is a scheme which can only bring its authors into shame, contempt and confusion. No results of this enterprise will ever be realized, beyond the army of occupation. It is not the part of wisdom, for those who have in hand the noble work of preserving the States from ruin and the races from intermixture, to base their action upon any incident or accident, or upon any supposed termination of our present troubles. He who changes his

views upon victory or defeat, is but a poor soldier for a long campaign against the mass of error, corruption and crime, now thickly spread over and through the body politic, and to an alarming extent influencing the action of the American mind.

But, shall we stand aloof from political alliances, and seek in our own way to assist in the needful reformation? Shall we rely entirely upon ourselves? By no means—when the great end in view can be in the least degree promoted, we should not hesitate to lend our aid and support; but care should be taken that no uncertain path, or “*devious ways*,” be entered upon.

Let me speak plain—our political affinity is unquestionably with the Democratic party, and if that organization goes boldly to the work, standing firmly upon its time-honored principles, maintaining unsullied its integrity, it is safe to presume that it will receive the moral and physical support of this wide extended association.

Let no one say we will thus be subservient to a party; rather will we be subservient to the demands of our country, and the cause in which we have enlisted. There need be no apprehension that a war of coercion will be continued by a Democratic administration, if placed in control of public affairs, for, with the experience of the present one, which has for three years, with the unlimited resources of eighteen millions of people, in men, money and ships, won nothing but its own disgrace, and probable downfall, it is not likely that another, if it values public estimation, will repeat the experiment.

Neither have we any reason to fear that the Democratic party, in shaping the canvass of 1864, will go out of its way to insult *five hundred thousand* of those whose votes are necessary to its success; let us rather incline to the belief that all the elements of opposition can and will be united, with no sacrifice of principle or manhood, to crush out this one now in power. A mere change of men will avail nothing, without corresponding action. Men, statesmen, and executive officers, exhort people to patience and long suffering, and while condemning Federal usurpation, yield obedience to all its demands. In the estimation of the membership of this organization, such men and such governors, be they of what party they may, must be regarded as enemies to good government. I trust I may be pardoned if I give a few examples to illustrate.

If this people can not excuse the Federal Executive for exercising undue and unwarranted power, toward breaking down their rights, derived from the force of their State Governments, how shall they palliate the offense of Governor Seymour, in violating his obligations in allowing it to be done in the great State of New York? This Governor becomes accessory after the fact, and is alike worthy of public condemnation. Do you tell me it is a necessity to thus subserve the Washington usurpers! In God's name, do not tell me that it is a necessity to be foresworn, to violate the plainest provisions of the Constitution, to consign a people to a slavish subserviency to the will of one man!

The Democracy of Indiana, too, has made a culprit of itself. A Senator, by the mean and contemptible



SERGEANT BOSTON CORBETT,
Who killed Booth, the Assassin.

action of a majority of the United States Senate, was wrongfully and maliciously expelled from his seat. The Legislature plainly acquiesced in this insult to the State and the party, by refusing to return him again. Again, our cherished Vallandigham resides in exile, not so much by the power of Lincoln, as the demands of those who are controlling, or did control the Democratic party in that State.

These things are of the past; shall they be repeated in the future? The great fear is that they will be, so long as this bugbear of civil war shall continue to horrify otherwise sensible people. My advice to you is, look well to the selection of men, upon whom you devolve the functions of leaders. This is no time to put forward men who take counsel of their fears.

Will the exercise of an undoubted right, an inalienable, an inherited, a constitutional right, lead to conflict? Will opposition to usurpers, to dictators, to tyrants, who have broken down the safeguards of life and property, lead to it? Then there is no escape, save in dishonor, and the most potent argument in favor of the permanency and spread of this association lies in the fact, that there are men who desire a place, and those who desire peace and quiet upon such terms. But who will bring conflict? Who will commence hostilities? Certainly not those who are merely claiming their rights? The conflict must then be commenced by those who are in the wrong. Must a people, therefore, continue to abase themselves, to keep those whom they have placed in authority from committing outrages upon them? This is the strange logic of the times.

This organization is based upon the principle of conserving the government inaugurated by the people, and bound to oppose all usurpations of power. Now it so happens that in the seventh year of its re-establishment, we find our State and Federal Government overturned. Yes, 'tis true. Lincoln's government is an usurpation—Morton's government is an usurpation. Now I know not what others may do, but for myself, I am willing the ballot box shall decide who shall be the officers, under the law and Constitution; but I shall obey them only so far as they exercise their delegated powers. I will not agree to remain passive, under usurped authority, affecting my rights and my liberties.

No one will enter the contest to overturn this party, more cheerfully than will I. But suppose it re-elects itself, will it return to the Constitution and laws? Are all those who do not agree with them to enter upon that delightful future, which has been so often and boastfully predicted by the Executive of this State, and many of his appointees? That future to you and to me is death, confiscation of our property, starvation to our children, the forced marriage of our heirs to their new-made colored brethren in arms.

If these men be prolonged in power, they must either consent to be content to exercise the power delegated by the people, or, by the gods, they must prove themselves physically the stronger! This position is demanded by every true member of this fraternity, honor, life—aye, more than life, the virtue of our wives and daughters demand it; and if you intend to make this organization of any practical value, you will do one

of two things—either take steps to work the political regeneration of the party with which we are affiliated, up to this standard, or relying upon ourselves, determine at once our plan of action.*

It might be asked now, shall men be coerced to go to war, in a mere crusade to free negroes, and territorial aggrandizement? Shall our people be taxed to carry forward a war of emancipation, miscegenation, confiscation, or extermination?

It would be the happiest moment of my life, if I could stand up with any considerable portion of my fellow men and say, "Not another dollar, not another man, for this nefarious war." But the views and suggestions of exiled Vallandigham will be of greater consequence to you than my own. He says to you, the only issue now is *peace or war*. To the former he is committed, and cannot, will not retract. He tells us not to commit ourselves to men. As well as he loves and as much as he admires, the little hero McClellan, he would have the Chicago Convention act with untrammelled freedom. He reasons that the spring campaign will be more disastrous to the Federal armies than those heretofore made. That by July the increased call for troops, the certainty of a prolonged war, the rottenness of the financial system, defection of border State troops, the spread and adoption of the principles of this organization, will all tend to bring conservative men to one mind.

He finally judges that the Washington power will not yield up its power, until it is taken from them by

* Booth and his coadjutors determined theirs.

an indignant people, by force of arms. He intimates that parties — men and interests — will divide into two classes, and that a conflict will ensue for the mastery.

"Sons of Liberty" arise! The day is rapidly approaching in the which you can make good your promises to your country. The furnace is being heated that will prove your sincerity—the hour for daring deeds is not distant—let the watchword be onward! And let the result bless mankind with Republican Government, in this, our beloved land, to their latest posterity.



THOMAS A. JONES,
Who aided in the escape of Booth, the Assassin.

CHAPTER XX.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES UPON THE SECRET TREASONABLE ORDERS "AMERICAN KNIGHTS," "SONS OF LIBERTY," ETC.—A FOUL CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—ORIGIN, HISTORY, NAMES, ETC. OF THE ORDERS—ORGANIZATION, EXTENT AND NUMBERS—ITS ARMED FORCE, RITUAL, OATHS AND INTERIOR FORMS—ITS WRITTEN PRINCIPLES—SPECIFIC PURPOSES AND OPERATIONS—WITNESSES AND THEIR TESTIMONY.

WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF MILITARY }
JUSTICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., October 8, 1864. }

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

During more than a year past it has been generally known to our military authorities that a secret treasonable organization, affiliated with the Southern rebellion, and chiefly military in its character, has been rapidly extending itself throughout the West. A variety of agencies, which will be specified herein, have been

employed, and successfully, to ascertain its nature and extent, as well as its aims and its results; and, as this investigation has led to the arrest in several States of a number of its prominent members as dangerous public enemies, it has been deemed proper to set forth in full the acts and purposes of this organization, and thus to make known to the country at large its intensely treasonable and revolutionary spirit.

The subject will be presented under the following heads:

I. The origin, history, names, etc.. of the order. II. Its organization and officers. III. Its extent and numbers. IV. Its armed force. V. Its ritual, oaths and interior forms. VI. Its written principles. VII. Its specific purposes and operations. VIII. The witnesses and their testimony.

I.—THE ORIGIN, HISTORY, NAMES, ETC., OF THE ORDER.

This secret association first developed itself in the West in the year 1862, about the period of the first conscription of troops, which it aimed to obstruct and resist. Originally known in certain localities as the "Mutual Protection Society," the "Circle of Honor," or the "Circle," or "Knights of the Mighty Host," but more widely as the "Knights of the Golden Circle," it was simply an inspiration of the rebellion, being little other than an extension among the disloyal and disaffected at the North of the association of the latter name, which had existed for some years at the South, and from which it derived all the chief features of its organization.

During the Summer and Fall of 1863, the Order, both at the North and South, underwent some modifi-

cations as well as a change of name. In consequence of a partial exposure which had been made of the sigus and ritual of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," Sterling Price had instituted as its successor in Missouri a secret political association, which he called the "Corps de Belgique," or "Southern League," his principal coadjutor being Charles L. Hunt, of St. Louis, then Belgian Consul at that city, but whose *exequator* was subsequently revoked by the President on account of his disloyal practices. The special object of the Corps de Belgique appears to have been to unite the rebel sympathizers of Missouri, with a view to their taking up arms and joining Price upon his proposed grand invasion of that State, and to their recruiting for his army in the interim.

Meanwhile, also, there had been instituted at the North, in the Autumn of 1863, by sundry disloyal persons—prominent among whom were Vallandigham and P. C. Wright, of New York—a secret order, intended to be general throughout the country, and aiming at an extended influence and power, and at more positive results than its predecessor, and which was termed, and has since been widely known as the O. A. K., or "*Order of American Knights*."

The opinion is expressed by Col. Sanderson, Provost Marshal General of the Department of Missouri, in his official report upon the progress of this order, that it was founded by Vallandigham during his banishment, and upon consultation at Richmond with Davis and other prominent traitors. It is, indeed, the boast of the Order in Indiana and elsewhere, that its "ritual" came

direct from Davis himself; and Mary Ann Pitman, formerly attached to the command of the rebel Forrest, and a most intelligent witness—whose testimony will be hereafter referred to—states positively that Davis was a member of the order.

Upon the institution of the principal organization, it is represented that the “Corps de Belgique” was modified by Price, and became a Southern section of the Order of American Knights, and that the new name was generally adopted for the order, both at the North and South. The secret signs and character of the order having become known to our military authorities, further modifications in the ritual and forms were introduced, and its name was finally changed to that of O. S. L., or “*Order of the Sons of Liberty*.” These later changes are represented to have been first instituted, and the new ritual compiled, in the State of Indiana, in May last, [1864] but the new name was at once generally adopted throughout the West, though in some localities the association is still better known as the “Order of American Knights.”

Meanwhile, also, the Order has received certain local designations. In parts of Illinois it has been called at times the “Peace Organization;” in Kentucky the “Star Organization,” and in Missouri the “American Organization;” these, however, being apparently names used outside of the lodges of the Order. Its members have also been familiarly designated as “Butternuts” by the country people of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and its separate lodges have also frequently received titles intended for the public ear; that in Chicago for instance,

being termed by its members the "Democratic Invincible Club," that in Louisville the "Democratic Reading Room," etc.

It is to be added that in the State of New York, and other parts of the North, the secret political association known as the "*McClellan Minute Guard*" would seem to be a branch of the Order of American Knights, having substantially the same objects, to be accomplished, however, by means expressly suited to the localities in which it is established. For, as the Chief Secretary of this association, Dr. R. F. Stevens, stated in June last to be a reliable witness, whose testimony has been furnished, "those who represent the McClellan interest are compelled to preach a vigorous prosecution of the war, in order to secure the popular sentiment and allure voters."

II.—ITS ORGANIZATION AND OFFICERS.

From printed copies, heretofore seized by the Government, of the Constitution of the Supreme Council, Grand Council, and County Parent Temples, respectively, of the Order of Sons of Liberty, in connection with other and abundant testimony, the organization of the Order, in its latest form, is ascertained to be as follows:

I. The government of the order throughout the United States is vested in a Supreme Council, of which the officers are a Supreme Commander, Secretary of State, and Treasurer. These officers are elected for one year at the annual meeting of the Supreme Council, which is made up of the Grand Commanders of the

several States *ex officio*, and two delegates elected from each State in which the order is established.

2. The government of the order in a State is vested in a Grand Council, the officers of which are a Grand Commander, Deputy Grand Commander, Grand Secretary, Grand Treasurer, and a certain number of Major Generals, or one for each Military District. These officers are also elected annually by "representatives" from the county temples, each temple being entitled to two representatives, and one additional for each thousand members. This body of representatives is also invested with certain legislative functions.

3. The parent temple is the organization of the Order for a county, each temple being formally instituted by authority of the Supreme Council, or of the Grand Council or Grand Commander of the State. By the same authority, or by that of the officers of the parent temple, branch or subordinate temples may be established for townships in the county.

But the strength and significance of this organization lie in its *military* character. The secret constitution of the Supreme Council provides that the Supreme Commander "*shall be commander-in-chief of all military forces belonging to the Order in the various States when called into actual service;*" and further, that the Grand Commanders "*shall be commanders-in-chief of the military forces of their respective States.*" Subordinate to the Grand Commander in the State are the "*Major Generals,*" each of whom commands his separate district and army. In Indiana the Major Generals are four in number. In Illinois, where the organiza-

tion of the Order is considered most perfect, the members in each congressional district compose a "*brigade*," which is commanded by a "*brigadier-general*." The members of each county constitute a "*regiment*" with a "*colonel*" in command, and those of each township form a "*company*." A somewhat similar system prevails in Indiana, where also each company is divided into "*squads*," each with its chief—an arrangement intended to facilitate the *guerilla* mode of warfare in case of a general outbreak or local disorder.

The "McClellan Minute Guard," as appears from a circular issued by the Chief Secretary in New York, in March last, is organized upon a military basis similar to that of the Order proper. It is composed of companies, one for each election district, ten of which constitute a "brigade," with a "brigadier general" at its head. The whole is placed under the authority of a commander-in-chief." A strict obedience on the part of members to the orders of their superiors is enjoined.

The first "Supreme Commander" of the Order was P. C. Wright, of New York, editor of the *New York News*, who was in May last (1864) placed in arrest and confined in Fort Lafayette. His successor in office was Vallandigham, who was elected at the annual meeting of the Supreme Council in February last. Robert Holloway, of Illinois, is represented to have acted as Lieutenant General, or Deputy Supreme Commander, during the absence of Vallandigham from the country. The Secretary of State chosen at the last election, was Dr. Massey, of Ohio.

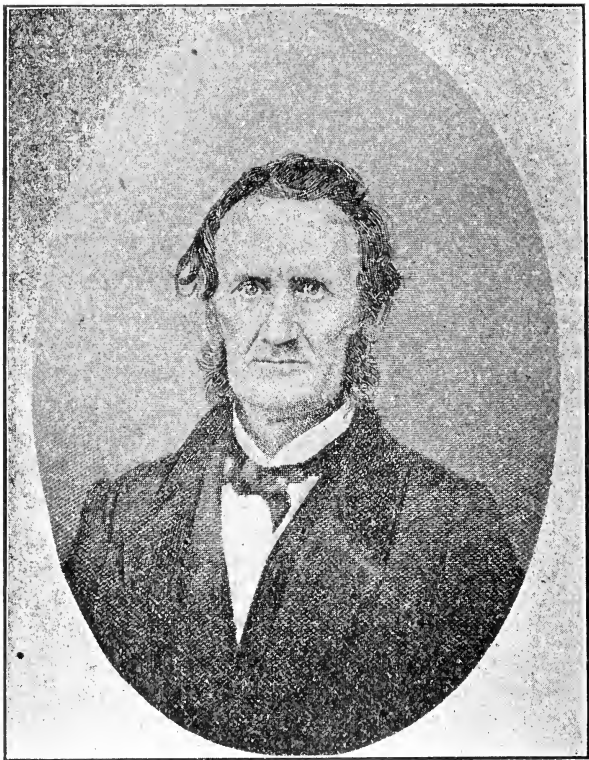
In Missouri, the principal officers were Charles L.

Hunt, Grand Commander, Charles E. Dunn, Deputy Grand Commander, and Green B. Smith, Grand Secretary. Since the arrest of these three persons (all of whom have made confessions which will be presently alluded to,) James A. Barrett has, as it is understood, officiated as Grand Commander. He is stated to occupy also the position of chief of staff to the Supreme Commander.

The Grand Commander in Indiana, H. H. Dodd, is now on trial at Indianapolis by a military commission for "conspiracy against the Government," "violation of the laws of war," and other charges. The Deputy Grand Commander in that State is Horace Heffren, and the Grand Secretary, W. M. Harrison. The Major Generals are W. A. Bowles, John C. Walker, L. P. Milligan, and Andrew Humphreys. Among the other leading members of the order in that state are Dr. Athon, State Secretary, and Joseph Ristine, State Auditor.

The Grand Commander in Illinois is S. Corning Judd, of Lewiston, and B. B. Piper, of Springfield, who is entitled "Grand Missionary" of the State, and designated also as a member of Vallandigham's staff, is one of the most active members, having been busily engaged throughout the Summer in establishing temples and initiating members.

In Kentucky, Judge Bullitt, of the Court of Appeals, is Grand Commander, and with Dr. U. F. Kalfus and W. R. Thomas, jailor in Louisville, two other of the most prominent members, have been arrested and confined by the military authorities. In New York, Dr.



L. P. MILLIGAN,

Major General of Indiana Conspirators, tried and convicted of treason and sentenced to the gallows.

R. F. Stevens, the chief secretary of the McClellan Minute Guard, is the most active ostensible representative of the Order.

The greater part of the chief and subordinate officers of the Order and its branches, as well as the principal members thereof, are known to the Government, and, where not already arrested, may regard themselves as under a constant military surveillance. So complete has been the exposure of this secret league, that however frequently the conspirators may change its names, forms, passwords, and signals, its true purposes and operations can not longer be concealed from the military authorities.

It is to be remarked that the Supreme Council of the Order, which annually meets on February 22, convened this year at New York city, and a special meeting was then appointed to be held at Chicago on July 1, or just prior to the day then fixed for the convention of the Democratic party. This convention having been postponed to August 29, the special meeting of the Supreme Council was also postponed to August 27, at the same place, and was duly convened accordingly. It will be remembered that a leading member of the convention, in the course of a speech made before that body, alluded approvingly to the session of the Sons of Liberty at Chicago at the same time, as that of an organization in harmony with the sentiment and projects of the convention.

It may be observed, in conclusion, that one not fully acquainted with the true character and intentions of the Order, might well suppose that, in designating its

officers by high military titles, and in imitating in its organization that established in our armies, it was designed merely to render itself more popular and attractive with the masses, and to invest its chiefs with a certain sham dignity; but when it is understood that the Order comprises within itself a large army of well-armed men, constantly drilled and exercised as soldiers, and that this army is held ready, at any time, for such forcible resistance to our military authorities, and such active co-operation with the public enemy, as it may be called upon to engage in by its commanders, it will be perceived that the titles of the latter are not assumed for a mere purpose of display, but that they are the chiefs of an actual and formidable force of conspirators against the life of the Government, and that their military system is, as it has been remarked by Colonel Sanderson, "the grand lever used by the rebel government for its army operations."

III.—ITS EXTENT AND NUMBERS.

The "Temples" or "lodges" of the Order are numerous scattered through the States of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri and Kentucky. They are also officially reported as established, to a less extent, in Michigan and other Western States, as well as in New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware and Tennessee. Dodd, the Grand Commander of Indiana, in an address to the members in that State, of February last, claims that the next annual meeting of the Supreme Council (in February, 1865,) every State in the Union will be represented, and adds, "this is the first and only

true National organization the Democratic and Conservative men of the country have ever attempted." A provision made in the Constitution of the Council for a representation from the *Territories* shows, indeed, that the widest extension of the Order is contemplated. It is to be added that the regular places of meeting, as also the principal rendezvous and haunts of the members in these and less important places, are generally well known to the Government.

The actual *numbers* of the Order have, it is believed, never before been officially reported, and cannot, therefore, be accurately ascertained. Various estimates have been made, by leading members, some of which are, no doubt, considerably exaggerated. It has been asserted by delegates to the Supreme Council of February last, that the number was there represented to be from eight hundred thousand to one million; but Vallandigham, in his speech last Summer, at Dayton, Ohio, placed it at *five hundred thousand*, which is probably much nearer the true total. The number of its members in the several States has been differently estimated in the reports and statements of its officers. Thus, the force of the Order in Indiana is stated to be from seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five thousand; in Illinois, from one hundred to one hundred and forty thousand; in Ohio, from eighty to one hundred and eight thousand; in Kentucky, from forty to seventy thousand; in Missouri, from twenty to forty thousand; and in Michigan and New York, about twenty thousand each. Its representation in the other states above mentioned does not specifically appear from the testimony; but, allowing

for every exaggeration in the figures reported, they may be deemed to present a tolerably faithful view of what, at least, is regarded by the order as its true force in the states designated.

In Kentucky and Missouri the order has not hesitated to admit as members, not only officers of that army, but also a considerable number of guerrillas, a class who might be supposed to appreciate most readily its spirit and purposes. It is fully shown that as lately as in July last, several of these ruffians were initiated into the first degree by Dr. Kalfus, in Kentucky.

IV.—ITS ARMED FORCE.

Although the Order has from the outset partaken of the military character, it was not till the Summer or Fall of 1863 that it began to be generally organized as an armed body. Since that date its officers and leaders have been busily engaged in placing it upon a military basis, and in preparing it for a revolutionary movement. A general system of drilling has been instituted and secretly carried out. Members have been instructed to be constantly provided with weapons, and in some localities it has been absolutely required that each member should keep at his residence, at all times, certain arms and a specified quantity of ammunition.

In March last, 1864, the entire armed force of the Order, capable of being mobilized for effective service, was represented to be three hundred and forty thousand men. As the details, upon which this statement was made, are imperfectly set forth in the testimony, it is not known how far this number may be exaggerated.

It is abundantly shown, however, that the Order, by means of a tax levied upon its members, has accumulated considerable funds for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and that these have been procured in large quantities for its use. The witness Clayton, on the trial of Dodd, estimated that *two-thirds* of the Order are furnished with arms.

Green B. Smith, Grand Secretary of the Order in Missouri, states in his confession of July last: "I know that arms, mostly revolvers and ammunition, have been purchased by members in St. Louis, to send to members in the country where they could not be had;" and he subsequently adds that he himself alone clandestinely purchased and forwarded, between April 15th and 19th last, about two hundred revolvers, with five thousand percussion caps and other ammunition. A muster-roll of one of the country lodges of that State is exhibited, in which, opposite the name of each member, are noted certain numbers, under the heads of "Missouri Republican," "St. Louis Union," "Anzeiger," "Miscellaneous Periodicals," "Books," "Speeches," and "Reports;" titles which, when interpreted, severally signify *single-barreled guns, double-barreled guns, revolvers, private ammunition, private lead, company powder, company lead*—the roll thus actually setting forth the amount of arms and ammunition in the possession of the lodge and its members.

In the States of Ohio and Illinois, the Order is claimed, by its members, to be unusually well armed with revolvers, carbines, etc.; but it is in regard to the arming of the Order in Indiana that the principal statistics have

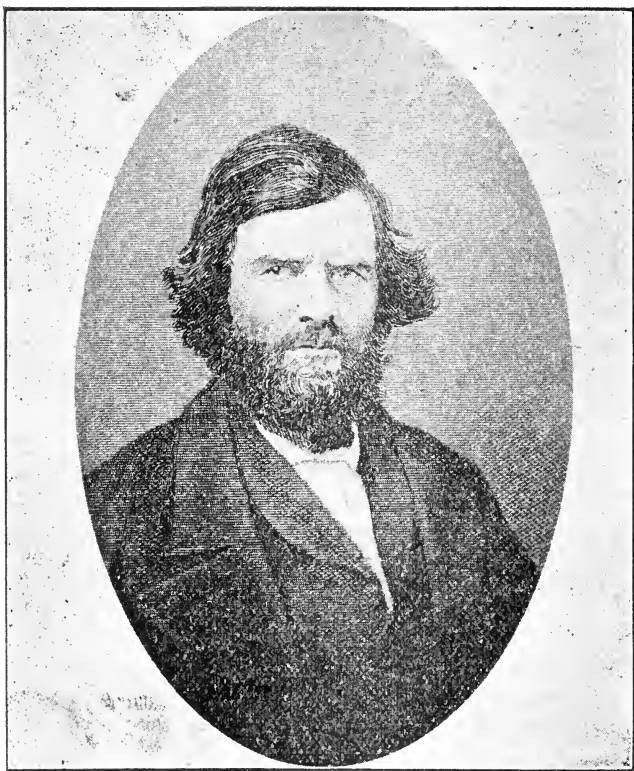
been presented, and these may serve to illustrate the system which has probably been pursued in most of the States. One intelligent witness, who has been a member, estimates that in March last, 1864, there were in possession of the Order, in that State, six thousand muskets and sixty thousand revolvers, besides private arms. Another member testifies that at a single lodge meeting of two hundred and fifty-two persons, which he attended early in the present year, the sum of \$4,000 was subscribed for arms. Other members present make statements in reference to the number of arms in their respective counties, and all agree in representing that these have been constantly forwarded from Indianapolis into the interior. Beck and Brothers are designated as the firm in that city, to which most of the arms were consigned. These were shipped principally from the East; some packages, however, were sent from Cincinnati, and some from Kentucky, and the boxes were generally marked "Pick-axes," "hardware," "nails," "household goods," etc.

General Carrington estimates that in February and March, 1864, nearly thirty thousand guns and revolvers entered the State, and this estimate is based upon an actual inspection of invoices. The true number, introduced was, therefore, probably considerably greater. That officer adds, that on the day in which the sale of arms was stopped by his order, in Indianapolis, nearly one thousand additional revolvers had been contracted for, and that the trade could not supply the demand. He further reports that after the introduction of arms into the Department of the North had been prohibited

in General Orders of March last, a seizure was made by the Government of a large quantity of revolvers and one hundred and thirty-five thousand rounds of ammunition, which had been shipped to the firm in Indianapolis, of which H. H. Dodd, Grand Commander was a member; that other arms about to be shipped to the same destination were seized in New York city; and that all these were claimed as private property of John C. Walker, one of the Major Generals of the Order in Indiana, and were represented to have been "*purchased for a few friends.*" It should be stated that at the office of Hon. D. W. Voorhees, M. C., at Terre Haute, were discovered letters which disclosed a correspondence between him and ex-Senator Wall, of New Jersey, in regard to the purchase of twenty thousand Garibaldi rifles, to be forwarded to the West.

It appears in the course of the testimony that a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition were brought into the State of Illinois from Burlington, Iowa, and that ammunition was sent from New Albany, Indiana, into Kentucky; it is also represented that, had Vallandigham been arrested on his return to Ohio, it was contemplated furnishing the Order with arms from a point in Canada, near Windsor, where they were stored and ready for use.

There remains further to be noticed, in this connection, the testimony of Clayton upon the trial of Dodd, to the effect that arms were to be furnished the Order from Nassau, N. P., by way of Canada; that, to defray the expense of these arms or their transportation, a formal assessment was levied upon the lodges, but that



STEPHEN HORSEY,
Major General of Indiana Conspirators and with Bowles and
Milligan sentenced to the gallows.

the transportation into Canada was actually to be furnished by the Confederate authorities.

A statement was made by Hunt, Grand Commander of Missouri, before his arrest, to a fellow-member, that shells and all kinds of munitions of war, as well as infernal machines, were manufactured for the Order at Indianapolis; and the late discovery in Cincinnati of samples of hand-grenades, conical shells and rockets, of which one thousand were about to be manufactured, under a special contract, for the Order of Sons of Liberty, goes directly to verify such a statement.

These details will convey some idea of the attempts which have been made to place the Order upon a war footing and prepare it for aggressive movements. But, notwithstanding all the efforts that have been put forth, and with considerable success, to arm and equip its members as fighting men, the leaders have felt themselves still very deficient in their armament, and numerous schemes for increasing their armed strength have been devised. Thus, at the time of the issuing of the general order in Missouri, requiring the enrollment of all citizens, it was proposed in the lodges of the Order of American Knights, at St. Louis, that certain members should raise companies in the militia, in their respective wards, and thus get command of as many Government arms and equipments as possible, for the future use of the Order. Again it was proposed that *all* members should enrol themselves in the militia, instead of paying commutation, in this way obtaining possession of United States arms, and having the advantage of the drill and military instruction. In the Councils of the

Order in Kentucky, in June last, a scheme was devised for disarming all the negro troops, which it was thought could be done without much difficulty, and appropriating their arms for military purposes.

It is to be observed that the Order in the State of Missouri has counted greatly upon support from the enrolled militia, in case of an invasion by Price, as containing many members and friends of the Order of American Knights; and that the "Paw-Paw Militia," a military organization of Buchanan county, as well as the militia of Platte and Clay counties, known as "Flat-Foots," have been relied upon, almost to a man, to join the revolutionary movement.

CHAPTER XXI.

ITS RITUAL, OATHS AND INTERIOR FORMS.

The ritual of the Order, as well as its secret signs, passwords, etc., has been fully made known to the military authorities. In August last one hundred and twelve copies of the ritual of the Order of American Knights were seized in the office of Hon. D. W. Voorhees, M. C., at Terre Haute, and a large number of rituals of the Order of the Sons of Liberty, together with copies of the constitutions of the councils, etc., already referred to, were found in the building at Indianapolis, occupied by Dodd, The Grand Commander of Indiana, as had been indicated by the Government witness and detective, Stidger. Copies were likewise discovered at Louisville, at the residence of Dr. Kalfus, concealed within the mattress of his bed, where Stidger had ascertained that they were kept.



ANDREW HUMPHREYS,
Major General of Indiana Conspirators, tried on charge of treason.

The ritual of the Order of American Knights has also been furnished by the authorities of St. Louis. From the ritual, that of the Order of the Sons of Liberty does not materially differ. Both are termed "progressive," in that they provide for *five* separate *degrees* of membership, and contemplate the admission of a member of a lower degree into a higher one only upon certain vouchers and proofs of fitness, which, with each ascending degree, are required to be stronger and more imposing.

Each degree has its commander or head; the fourth or "grand" is the highest in the State; the fifth or "Supreme" the highest in the United States; but to the first or lower degree only do the great majority of members attain. A large proportion of these enter the order, supposing it to be a "Democratic" and political association merely; and the history of the order furnishes a most striking illustration of the gross and criminal deception which may be practiced upon the ignorant masses by unscrupulous and unprincipled leaders. The members of the lower degree are often for a considerable period kept quite unaware of the true purposes of their chiefs. But to the latter they are bound, in the language of their obligation, "*to yield prompt and implicit obedience to the utmost of their ability, without remonstrance, hesitation or delay,*" and meanwhile their minds, under the discipline and teachings to which they are subjected, become educated and accustomed to contemplate with comparative unconcern the treason for which they are preparing.

The oaths, "invocations," "charges," etc., of the rit-

ual, expressed as they are in bombastic and extravagant phraseology would excite in the mind of an educated person only ridicule or contempt, but upon the illiterate they are calculated to make a deep impression, the effect and importance of which were doubtless fully studied by the framers of the instrument.

The *oath* which is administered upon the introduction of a member into any degree, is especially imposing in its language; it prescribes as a penalty for a violation of the obligation assumed "a shameful death," and further, that the body of the person guilty of such violation shall be divided into four parts and cast out at the four "gates" of the temple. Not only, as has been said, does it enjoin a blind obedience to the commands of the superiors of the order, but it is required to be held of *paramount obligation* to any oath which may be administered to a member in a court of justice or elsewhere. Thus, in cases where members have been sworn by officers empowered to administer oaths to speak the whole truth in answer to questions that may be put to them, and have then been examined in reference to the Order, and their connection therewith, they have not only refused to give any information in regard to its character, but have denied that they were members, or even knew of its existence. A conspicuous instance of this is presented in the cases of Hunt, Dunn and Smith, the chief officers of the Order in Missouri, who, upon their first examination under oath, after their arrest, denied all connection with the Order, but confessed, also under oath, at a subsequent period, that this denial was wholly false, although in accordance

with their obligations as members. Indeed, a deliberate system of deception in regard to the details of the conspiracy is inculcated upon the members, and studiously pursued; and it may be mentioned, as a similarly despicable feature of the organization, that it is held bound to injure the Administration and officers of the Government in every possible manner, by misrepresentation and falsehood.

Members are also instructed that their oath of membership is to be held paramount to an oath of allegiance, or any other oath which may impose obligations inconsistent with those which are assumed upon entering the Order. Thus, if a member, when in danger, or for the purpose of facilitating some traitorous design, has taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, he is held at liberty to violate it on the first occasion, his obligation to the Order being deemed superior to any consideration of duty or loyalty prompted by such oath.

It is to be added that where members are threatened with the penalties of perjury, in case of their answering falsely to questions propounded to them in regard to the order before a court or grand jury, they are instructed to refuse to answer such questions, alleging, as a ground for their refusal, that their answers may *criminate* themselves. The testimony shows that this course has habitually been pursued by members, especially in Indiana, when placed in such a situation.

Besides the oaths and other forms and ceremonies which have been alluded to, the ritual contains what are termed "Declarations of Principles." These declara-

tions, which are most important as exhibiting the creed and character of the Order, as inspired by the principles of the rebellion, will be fully represented under the next branch of the subject.

The *signs, signals, passwords*, etc., of the Order are set forth at length in the testimony, but need only be briefly alluded to. It is a significant fact, as showing the intimate relations between the Northern and Southern sections of the secret conspiracy, that a member from a Northern State is enabled to pass without risk through the South by the use of the signs of recognition which have been established throughout the Order, and by means of which members from distant points, though meeting as strangers, are at once made known to each other as "brothers."

Mary Ann Pitman expressly states in her testimony that whenever important dispatches are required to be sent by rebel generals beyond their lines, members of the Order are always selected to convey them. Certain passwords are also used in common in both sections, and of these, none appears to be more familiar than the word "Nu-oh-lac," or the name "Calhoun" spelt backward, and which is employed upon entering a Temple of the first degree of the Order of American Knights—certainly a fitting password to such dens of treason.

Besides the signs of recognition, there are *signs of warning and danger*, for use at night, as well as by day; as, for instance, signs to warn members of the approach of United States officials seeking to make arrests. The Order has also established what are called *battle signals*, by means of which, as it is asserted, a

member serving in the army may communicate with the enemy in the field, and thus escape personal harm in case of attack or capture.

The most recent of these signals represented to have been adopted is a five-pointed copper star, worn under the coat, which is to be disclosed upon meeting an enemy, who will thus recognize in the wearer a sympathizer and an ally. A similar star of German silver, hung in a frame, is said to be numerously displayed by members or their families in private *houses* in Indiana, for the purpose of insuring protection to their property in case of a raid or other attack; and it is stated that in many dwellings in the State a portrait of John Morgan is exhibited for a similar purpose.

Other signs are used by members, and especially the officers of the order in their *correspondence*. Their letters, when of an official character, are generally conveyed by special messengers, but when transmitted through the mail are usually in cipher. When written in the ordinary manner, a character at the foot of the letter, consisting of a circle with a line drawn across the center, signifies to the member who receives it, that the statements as written are to be understood in a sense directly the opposite to that which would ordinarily be conveyed.

It is to be added that the meetings of the order, especially in the country, are generally held at night and in secluded places; and that the approach to them is carefully guarded by a line of sentinels, who are passed only by means of a special *countersign*, which is termed the "picket."

VI.—ITS WRITTEN PRINCIPLES

The “*Declaration of Principles*,” which is set forth in the ritual of the Order, has already been alluded to. This declaration, which is specially framed for the instruction of the great mass of members, commences with the following proposition:

“All men are endowed by the Creator with certain rights, equal as far as there is equality in the capacity for the appreciation, enjoyment, and exercise of those rights.” And subsequently there is added: “In the Divine economy no individual of the human race must be permitted to encumber the earth, to mar its aspects of transcendent beauty, nor to impede the progress of the physical or intellectual man, neither in himself nor in the race to which he belongs. Hence, a people, upon whatever plane they may be found in the ascending scale of humanity, whom neither the divinity within them nor the inspirations of divine and beautiful nature around them can impel to virtuous action and progress onward and upward, should be subjected to a just and humane servitude and tutelage to the superior race until they shall be able to appreciate the benefits and advantages of civilization.” Here, expressed in studied terms of hypocrisy, is the whole theory of human bondage—the right of the strong, because they are strong, to despoil and enslave the weak, because they are weak! The languages of earth can add nothing to the cowardly and loathsome baseness of the doctrine, as thus announced. It is the robber’s creed sought to be nationalized, and would push back the hand on the dial plate of our civilization to the darkest periods of human history.

To these detestable tenets is added that other pernicious political theory of State sovereignty, with its necessary fruit, the monstrous doctrine of secession—a doctrine which, in asserting that in our federative system a part is greater than the whole, would compel the General Government, like a Japanese slave, to commit hari-kari whenever a faithless or insolent State should command it to do so.

Thus, the ritual, after reciting that the States of the Union are “free, independent, and sovereign,” proceeds as follows:

“The government designated ‘the United States of America’ has no *sovereignty*, because that is an attribute with which the people, in their several and distinct political organizations, are endowed, and is inalienable. It was constituted by the terms of the *compact*, by all the States, through the express will of the people thereof, respectively—a common agent, to use and exercise certain named, specified, defined, and limited powers, which are inherent of the sovereignties within those States. It is permitted, so far as regards its status and relations, as common agent in the exercise of the powers carefully and jealously delegated to it, to call itself ‘supreme,’ but not ‘*sovereign*.’ In accordance with the principles upon which is founded the *American theory*, government can exercise only delegated power; hence, if those who shall have been chosen to administer to the government shall assume to exercise powers not delegated, they should be regarded and treated as *usurpers*. The reference to ‘inherent power,’ ‘war power,’ or ‘military necessity,’ on the part of the

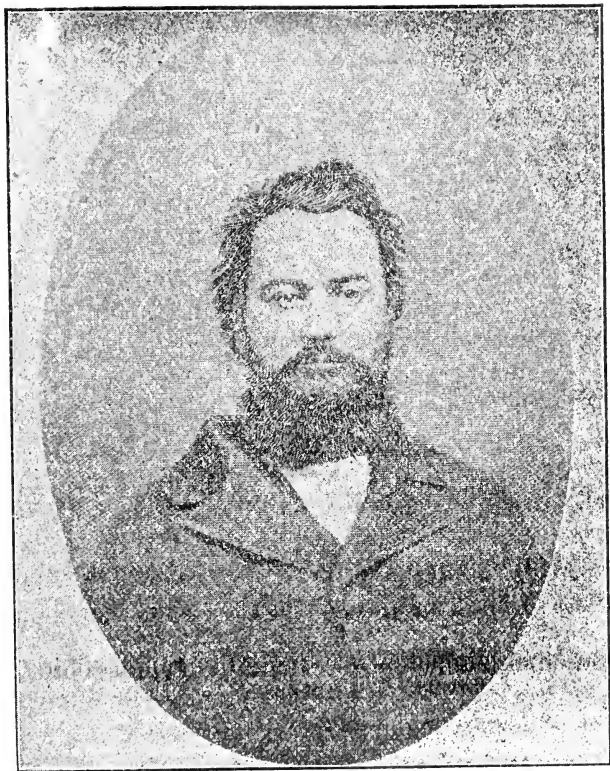
functionary for the sanction of an arbitrary exercise of power by him, we will not accept in paliation or excuse."

To this is added, as a corollary, "it is incompatible with the history and nature of our system of government, that Federal authority should coerce by arms a sovereign State."

The declaration of principles, however, does not stop here, but proceeds one step further, as follows: "Whenever the chosen officers or delegates shall fail or refuse to administer the Government in strict accordance with the letter of the accepted Constitution, it is the inherent right and the solemn and imperative duty of the people to *resist* the functionaries, and, if need be, to *expel them by force of arms!* Such resistance is not revolution, but is solely the assertion of right—the exercise of all the noble attributes which impart honor and dignity to manhood."

To the same effect, though in a milder tone, is the platform of the Order in Indiana, put forth by the Grand Council at their meeting in February last, which declares that "the right to alter or *abolish* their government, whenever it fails to secure the blessings of liberty, is one of the inalienable rights of the people that can never be surrendered."

Such, then, are the principles which the new member swears to observe and abide by in his obligation, set forth in the ritual, where he says: "I do solemnly promise that I will ever cherish in my heart of hearts the sublime creed of the E. K., (Excellent Knights,) and will, so far as in me lies, illustrate the same in my



HON. HORACE HEFFREN,

Former State Senator of Indiana, later Deputy Grand Commander of the Conspirators in Indiana, tried on charge of treason—became a witness for the Government.

intercourse with men, and will defend the principles thereof, if need be, with my life, whensoever assailed, in my own country first of all. I do further solemnly declare that I will never take up arms in behalf of any government which does not acknowledge the sole authority or power to be the will of the governed."

The following extracts from the ritual, may also be quoted as illustrating the principle of the right of revolution and resistance to constituted authority insisted upon by the Order:

"Our swords shall be unsheathed whenever the great principles which we aim to inculcate and have sworn to maintain and defend are assailed."

Again: "I do solemnly promise, that whensoever the principles which our Order inculcates shall be assailed in my own State or country, I will defend these principles with my sword and my life, in whatsoever capacity may be assigned me by the competent authority of our order."

And further: "I do promise that I will, at all times, if need be, take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—in my own country first of all—against any power or government usurped, which may be found in arms and waging war against the people or peoples who are endeavoring to establish, or have inaugurated, a government for themselves of their own free choice."

Moreover, it is to be noted that all the addresses and speeches of its leaders breathe the same principle, of the right of the forcible resistance to the Government, as one of the tenets of the Order.

Thus P. C. Wright, Supreme Commander, in his general address of December, 1863, after urging that "the spirit of the fathers may animate the free minds, the brave hearts, and still unshackled limbs of the *true Democracy*," (meaning the members of the Order,) adds as follows: "To be prepared for the crisis now approaching, we must catch from afar the earliest and faintest breathings of the spirit of the storm; to be successful when the storm comes, we must be watchful, patient, brave, confident, organized, *armed*."

Thus, too, Dodd, Grand Commander of the Order in Indiana, quoting in his address of February last, the views of his chief, Vallandigham, and adopting them as his own, says:

"He (Vallandigham) judges that the Washington power will not yield up its power until it is taken from them by an indignant people, *by force of arms*."

Such, then, are the written principles of the Order in which the neophyte is instructed, and which he is sworn to cherish and observe as his rule of action, when, with arms placed in his hands, he is called upon to engage in the overthrow of his Government. What more appropriate password, therefore, to be communicated to the new member upon his first admission to the secrets of the Order could have been conceived, than that which was actually adopted—"Calhoun!"—a man, who, baffled in his lust for power, with gnashing teeth turned upon the Government that had lifted him to its highest honors, and upon the country that had borne him, and down to the very close of his fevered life labored incessantly to scatter far and wide the seeds of that poison of

death now upon our lips. The thorns which now pierce and tear us are of the tree he planted.

CHAPTER XXII.

ITS SPECIFIC PURPOSES AND OPERATIONS.

From the principles of the Order, as thus set forth, its general purpose of co-operating with the rebellion may readily be inferred, and, in fact, those principles could logically lead to no other result. This general purpose, indeed, is distinctly set forth in the personal statements and confessions of its members, and particularly of its prominent officers, who have been induced to make disclosures to the Government. Among the most significant of these confessions are those already alluded to, of Hunt, Dunn, and Smith, the heads of the Order in Missouri. The latter, whose statement is full and explicit, says: "At the time I joined the Order I understood that its object was to aid and assist the Confederate Government, and endeavor to restore the Union as it was prior to the rebellion." He adds: "The Order is hostile in every respect to the General

Government, and friendly to the so-called Confederate Government. It is exclusively made up of disloyal persons—of all Democrats who are desirous of securing the independence of the Confederate States with a view of restoring the Union as it was.”

But proceeding to the *specific* purposes of the Order, which its leaders have had in view from the beginning, and which, as will be seen, it has been able, in many cases, to carry out with very considerable success, the following are found to be the most pointedly presented by the testimony:

1. *Aiding Soldiers to Desert and Harboring and Protecting Deserters.*—Early in its history the Order essayed to undermine such portions of the army as were exposed to its insidious approaches. Agents were sent by the Knights of the Golden Circle into the camps to introduce the Order among the soldiers, and those who became members were instructed to induce as many of their companions as possible to desert, and for this purpose, the latter were furnished by the Order with money and citizen's clothing. Soldiers who hesitated at desertion, but desired to leave the army, were introduced to lawyers who engaged to furnish them some *quasi* legal pretext for so doing, and a certain attorney of Indianapolis, named Walpole, who was particularly conspicuous in furnishing facilities of this character to soldiers who applied to him, has boasted that he has thus aided five hundred enlisted men to escape from their contracts. Through the schemes of the Order in Indiana, whole companies were broken up—a large detachment of a battery company, for

instance, deserting on one occasion to the enemy with two of its guns—and the camps were imbued with a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction with the service. As soon as arrests of these deserters began to be generally made, writs of *habeas corpus* were issued in their cases by disloyal judges, and a considerable number were discharged thereon.

Soldiers upon deserting, were assured of immunity from punishment and protection on the part of the Order, and were instructed to bring away with them their arms, and, if mounted, their horses. Details sent to arrest them by the military authorities, were in several cases forcibly resisted, and, where not unusually strong in numbers, were driven back by large bodies of men, subsequently generally ascertained to be members of the Order.

In the case of the outbreak in Morgan county, J. S. Bingham, editor of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, a member or friend of the order, sought to forward to the disloyal newspapers of the West, false and inflammatory telegraphic dispatches in regard to the affair, to the effect that cavalry had been sent to arrest all the Democrats in the county, that they had committed gross outrages, and that several citizens had been shot; and adding “ten thousand soldiers cannot hold the men arrested this night. Civil war and bloodshed are inevitable.” The assertions in this dispatch were entirely false, and may serve to illustrate the fact heretofore noted, that a studious misrepresentation of the acts of the Government and its officers is a part of the prescribed duty of the members of the Order. It is proper to mention

that seven of the party in Morgan county, who made the attack upon our troops, were convicted of their offense by a State court. Upon their trial it was proved that the party was composed of members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. One of the most pointed instances of protection afforded to deserters occurred in a case in Indiana, where seventeen intrenched themselves in a log cabin with a ditch and palisade, and were furnished with provisions and sustained in their defense against our military authorities for a considerable period by the Order or its friends.

2. *Discouraging Enlistments and Resisting the Draft.*—It is especially inculcated by the Order to oppose the re-inforcement of our armies, either by volunteers or drafted men. In several counties of the State a considerable military force was required for the protection of United States officials, and a large number of arrests were made, including that of one Reynolds, an ex-Senator of the Legislature, for publicly urging upon the populace to resist conscription—an offense of the same character, in fact, as that upon which Vallandigham was apprehended in Ohio. These outbreaks were no doubt, in most cases, incited by the Order and engaged in by its members. In Indiana nearly two hundred persons were indicted for conspiring against the Government, resisting the draft, etc., and about sixty of these were convicted.

3. *Circulation of Disloyal and Treasonable Publications.*—The Order, especially in Missouri, has secretly circulated throughout the country, a great quantity of treasonable publications, as a means of extending its

own power and influence, as well as of giving encouragement to the disloyal and inciting them to treason.

4. *Communicating with, and Giving Intelligence to the Enemy.*—Smith, Grand Secretary of the Order in Missouri, says in his confession: “Rebel spies, mail-carriers, and emissaries have been carefully protected by this Order ever since I have been a member.” It is shown in the testimony to be customary in the rebel service to employ members of the Order as spies, under the guise of soldiers furnished with furloughs to visit their homes within our lines. On coming within the territory occupied by our forces, they are harbored and supplied with information by the Order. Another class of spies claim to be deserters from the enemy, and at once seek an opportunity to take the oath of allegiance, which, however, though voluntarily taken, they claim to be administered while they are under a species of duress, and, therefore not to be binding. Upon swearing allegiance to the Government, the pretended deserter engages, with the assistance of the Order, in collecting contraband goods or procuring intelligence to be conveyed to the enemy, or in some other treasonable enterprise.

In Missouri regular mail communication was for a long period maintained through the agency of the order from St. Louis to Price’s army, by means of which private letters, as well as official dispatches between him and the Grand Commander of Missouri, were regularly transmitted. The mail-carriers started from a point on the Pacific railroad, near Kirkwood’s station, about fourteen miles from St. Louis, and traveling only by

night, proceeded (to quote from Col. Sanderson's report) to "Mattox Mills," on the Maramée river, thence past Mineral point to Webster, thence to a point fifteen miles below Van Buren, where they crossed the Black river and thence to the rebel lines." It is, probably, also by this route that the secret correspondence, stated by the witness Pitman to have been constantly kept up between Price and Vallandigham, the heads of the Order at the North and South respectively, was successfully maintained.

A similar communication has been continuously held with the enemy from Louisville, Kentucky. A considerable number of women in that State, many of them of high position in rebel society, and some of them outwardly professing to be loyal, were discovered to have been actively engaged in receiving and forwarding mails, with the assistance of the Order and as its instruments. Two of the most notorious and successful of these, Mrs. Woods and Miss Cassell, have been apprehended and imprisoned.

By means of this correspondence with the enemy, the members of the Order were promptly apprised of all raids to be made by the forces of the former, and were able to hold themselves prepared to render aid and comfort to the raiders. To show how efficient for this purpose was the system thus established, it is to be added that our military authorities have, in a number of cases, been informed, through members of the Order employed in the interest of the Government, of impending raids and important army movements of the rebels, not only days, but sometimes weeks, sooner than the

same intelligence could have reached them through the ordinary channels.

On the other hand, the system of *espionage* kept up by the Order, for the purpose of obtaining information of the movements of our own forces, etc., to be imparted to the enemy, seems to have been as perfect as it was secret. The Grand Secretary of the Order in Missouri states, in his confession: "One of the especial objects of this Order was to place members in steam-boats, ferry-boats, telegraph offices, express offices, department headquarters, provost marshal's office, and, in fact, in every position where they could do valuable service;" and he proceeds to specify certain members who, at the date of his confession, (August 2d last,) were employed at the express and telegraph offices in St. Louis.

5. *Aiding the Enemy, by Recruiting for them or assisting them to Recruit, within our lines.*—This has also been extensively carried on by members of the Order, particularly in Kentucky and Missouri. It is estimated that two thousand men were sent South from Louisville alone during a few weeks in April and May, 1864. The Order and its friends at that city have a permanent fund, to which there are many subscribers, for the purpose of fitting out with pistols, clothing, money, etc., men desiring to join the Southern service; and, in the lodges of the order in St. Louis and Northern Missouri, money has often been raised to purchase horses, arms and equipments for soldiers about to be forwarded to the Southern army. In the latter State, parties empowered by Price, or by Grand Commander

Hunt as his representative, to recruit for the rebel service, were nominally authorized to "locate lands," as it was expressed, and in their reports, which were formally made, the number of acres, etc., located, represented the number of men recruited. At Louisville, those desiring to join the Southern forces were kept hidden, and supplied with food and lodging until a convenient occasion was presented for their transportation South. They were then collected and conducted at night to a safe rendezvous of the Order, whence they were forwarded to their destination, in some cases stealing horses from the United States corrals on their way. While awaiting an occasion to be sent South, the men, to avoid suspicion, which might be excited by their being seen together in any considerable number, were often employed on farms in the vicinity of Louisville, and the farm of one Grant in that neighborhood, (at whose house, also, meetings of the order were held,) is indicated in the testimony as one of the localities where such recruits were rendezvoused and employed.

The same facilities which were afforded to recruits for the Southern army were also furnished by the Order to persons desiring to proceed beyond our lines for any illegal purpose. By these Louisville was generally preferred as a point of departure, and, on the Mississippi river, a particular steamer, the Graham, was selected as the safest conveyance.

6. *Furnishing the rebels with Arms, Ammunition etc.*—In this, too, the Order, and especially its female members and allies, has been sedulously engaged. The rebel women of Louisville and Kentucky are repre-

sented as having rendered the most valuable aid to the Southern army, by transporting large quantities of percussion caps, powder, etc., concealed upon their persons, to some convenient locality near the lines, whence they could be readily conveyed to the persons for whom they were intended. It is estimated that at Louisville, up to May 1st last, the sum of \$17,000 had been invested by the Order in ammunition and arms, to be forwarded principally in this manner to the rebels. In St. Louis several firms, who are well known to the Government, the principal of which is Beauvais & Co., have been engaged in supplying arms and ammunition to members of the Order, to be conveyed to their Southern allies. Mary Ann Pitman, a reliable witness, and a member of the Order of American Knights, who will hereafter be especially alluded to, states in her testimony that she visited Beauvais & Co. three times, and procured from them on each occasion about \$80 worth of caps, besides a number of pistols and cartridges, which she carried in person to Forrest's command, as well as a much larger quantity of similar articles which she caused to be forwarded by other agents. The guerrillas in Missouri also received arms from St. Louis, and one Douglas, one of the most active conspirators of the Order of American Knights in Missouri, and a special emissary of Price, was arrested while in the act of transporting a box of forty revolvers by railroad to a guerrilla camp in the interior of the State. Supplies were, in some cases, conveyed to the enemy through the medium of professed loyalists, who, having received permits for that purpose from the United States military authorities, would forward their

goods as if for ordinary purposes of trade, to a certain point near the rebel lines, where, by the connivance of the owners, the enemy would be enabled to seize them.

7. *Co-operating with the Enemy in Raids and Invasions.*—While it is clear that the Order has given aid, both directly and indirectly, to the forces of the rebels, and to guerrilla bands, when engaged in making incursions into the border States, yet because, on the one hand, of the constant restraint upon its action exercised by our military authorities, and, on the other, of the general success of our armies in the field over those of the enemy, their allies at the North have never thus far been able to carry out their grand plan of a general armed rising of the Order, and its co-operation on an extended scale with the Southern forces—a result, in great part, owing to the activity of our military authorities in strengthening the detachments at the prisons, arsenals, etc., and in causing the arrest of the leading conspirators in the several States, and especially in the seizure of large quantities of arms which had been shipped for the use of the Order in their intended outbreak. It was doubtless on account of these precautions that the day last appointed for the rising of the Order in Indiana and Kentucky (August 16) passed by with but slight disorder.

With guerrillas, the order has always most readily acted along the border, and in cases of capture by the Union forces of Northern members of the Order engaged in co-operating with them, the guerrillas have frequently retaliated by seizing prominent Union citizens and holding them as hostages for the release of

their allies. At other times our Government has been officially notified by the rebel authorities that if the members of the Order captured were not treated by us as ordinary prisoners of war, retaliation would be resorted to.

A singular feature of the raids of the enemy remains only to be adverted to, viz: that the officers conducting these raids are furnished by the rebel Government with quantities of United States Treasury notes for use within our lines, and that these are probably most frequently procured through the agency of members of the Order.

Mary Ann Pitman states that Forrest, of the rebel army, at one time exhibited to her a letter to himself from a prominent rebel sympathizer and member of the Order in Washington, D. C., in which it was set forth that the sum of \$20,000 in "greenbacks" had actually been forwarded by him to the rebel Government at Richmond.

There is no doubt that large quantities of Government property have been burned or otherwise destroyed by the agency of the Order in different localities. At Louisville, in the case of the steamer, Taylor, and on the Mississippi river, steamers belonging to the United States have been burned at the wharves, and generally when loaded with Government stores.

It is reported by General Carrington that the full development of the Order in Indiana was followed by a "state of terrorism among the Union residents" of portions of Brown, Morgan, Johnson, Rush, Clay, Sullivan, Bartholomew, Hendricks and other Counties" in the State; that from some localities individuals were driven

away altogether; that in others their barns, hay and wheat-racks were burned; and that many persons, under the general insecurity of life and property, sold their effects at a sacrifice and removed to other places. At one time in Brown county, the members of the Order openly threatened the lives of all "Abolitionists" who refused to sign a peace memorial which they had prepared and addressed to Congress. In Missouri, also, similar outrages committed upon the property of loyal citizens are attributable in a great degree to the secret Order.

Here the outbreak of the miners in the coal districts of Eastern Pennsylvania, in the Autumn of last year, may be appropriately referred to. It is fully shown in the testimony adduced, upon the trials of these insurgents, who were guilty of the destruction of property and numerous acts of violence, as well as murder, that they were generally members of a secret treasonable association, similar in all respects to the Knights of the Golden Circle, at the meetings of which they incited to the commission of crimes for which they were tried and convicted.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ASSASSINATION AND MURDER.

After what has been disclosed in regard to this infamous league of traitors and ruffians, it will not be a matter of surprise to learn that the cold-blooded assassination of Union citizens and soldiers has been included in their devilish scheme of operations. At Louisville, in June last, a scheme was discussed among the Order for the waylaying and butchering of negro soldiers in the streets at night; and in the same month a party of its members in that city was actually organized for the purpose of throwing off the track of the Nashville railroad, a train of colored troops and seizing the opportunity of taking the lives of as many as possible. Again, in July, the assassination of an obnoxious provost marshal, by betraying him into the hands of guerillas, was designed by members in the interior of Kentucky. Further, at a meeting of the Grand Council of Indianapolis on June 14th last, the murder of one Coffin, a

Government detective, who, as it was supposed, had betrayed the Order, was deliberately discussed and unanimously determined upon. This fact is stated by Stidger in his report to General Carrington of June 17th last, and is more fully set forth in his testimony upon the trial of Dodd. He deposes that at the meeting in question, Dodd himself volunteered to go to Hamilton, Ohio, where Coffin was expected to be found, and there "dispose of the latter." He adds that prior to the meeting, he himself conveyed from Judge Bullitt, at Louisville, to Bowles and Dodd, at Indianapolis, special instructions to have Coffin "put out of the way"—"murdered"—"at all hazards."

The opinion is expressed by Col. Sanderson, under date of June 12th last, that "the recent numerous cold-blooded assassinations of military officers and unconditional Union men throughout the military district of North Missouri, especially along the 'western border,'" is to be ascribed to the agency of the order. The witness Pitman represents that it is "a part of the obligation or understanding of the Order to kill officers and soldiers" *whenever it can be done by stealth*, as well as loyal citizens when considered important or influential persons; and she adds, that while at Memphis, during the past Summer, she *knew* that men on picket were secretly killed by members of the Order approaching them in disguise.

In this connection may be recalled the wholesale assassination of Union soldiers by members of the Order and their confederates at Charleston, Illinois, in March last, in regard to which, as a startling episode of the

rebellion, a full report was addressed from this office to the President, under date of July 26th last.

In concluding this review of some of the principal specific purposes of the order, it remains only to remark upon a further design of many of its leading members, the accomplishment of which they are represented as having deeply at heart. These men have made the establishment of a Western or North-western Confederacy, in alliance with the South, the grand aim and end of all their plotting and conspiring. It is with this steadily in prospect that they are constantly seeking to produce discontent, disorganization, and civil disorder at the North. Futile and extravagant as this scheme may appear, it is yet the settled purpose of many leading spirits of the secret conspiracy, and is their favorite subject of thought and discussion. Not only is this scheme deliberated upon in the lodges of the Order, but it is openly proclaimed. Members of the Indiana Legislature, even, have publicly announced it, and avowed that they will take their own State out of the Union, and recognize the independence of the South. A citizen captured by a guerrilla band in Kentucky last Summer, records the fact that the establishment of a new confederacy as the deliberate purpose of the Western people was boastfully asserted by these outlaws, who also assured their prisoner that in the event of such establishment there would be "a greater rebellion than ever!"

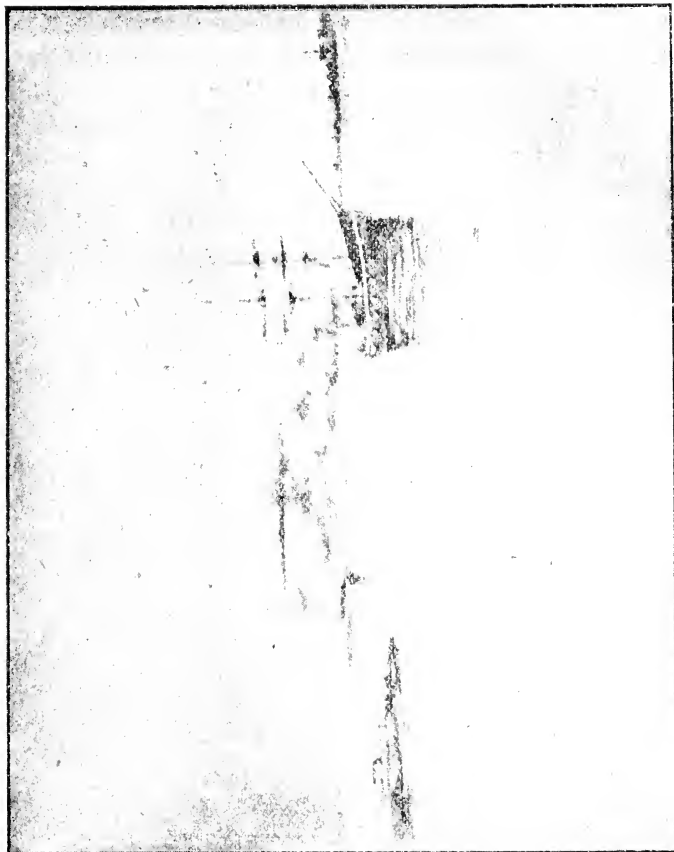
Lastly, it is claimed that the new confederacy is already organized; that it has a "provisional government," officers, departments, bureaus, etc., in secret

operation. No comment is necessary to be made upon this treason, not now contemplated for the first time in our history. Suggested by the present rebellion, it is the logical consequence of the ardent and utter sympathy therewith which is the life and inspiration of the secret order.

The facts detailed in the present report have been derived from a great variety of dissimilar sources, but all the witnesses, however different their situations, concur so pointedly in their testimony, that the evidence which has thus been furnished must be accepted as of an entirely satisfactory character. The principal witnesses may be classified as follows:

Shrewd, intelligent men, employed as detectives, and with a peculiar talent for their calling, who have gradually gained the confidence of leading members of the Order, and in some cases have been admitted to its temples and been initiated into one or more of the degrees. The most remarkable of these is Stidger, formerly a private soldier in our army, who by the use of an uncommon address, though at great risk, succeeded in establishing such intimate relations with Bowles, Bullitt, Dodd, and other leaders of the Order in Indiana and Kentucky, as to be appointed Grand Secretary for the latter State, a position the most favorable for obtaining information of the plans of these traitors and warning the Government of their intentions.

2. Rebel officers and soldiers voluntarily or involuntarily making disclosures to our military authorities. The most valuable witnesses of this class are prisoners of war, who, actuated by laudable motives, have, of



ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE U. S. WAR STEAMER "MICHIGAN" ON
LAKE ERIE.

their own accord furnished a large amount of information in regard to the Order, especially as it exists in the South, and of the relations of its members with those of the Northern section. Among these, also, are soldiers at our prison camps, who, without designing it, have made known to our officials, by the use of signs, etc., of the Order, that they were members.

3. Scouts employed to travel through the interior of the border States, and also within or in the neighborhood of the enemy's lines. The fact that some of these were left entirely ignorant of the existence of the Order, upon being so employed, attaches an increased value to their discoveries in regard to its operations.

4. Citizen prisoners, to whom, while in confinement, disclosures were made relative to the existence, extent, and character of the Order, by fellow prisoners who were leading members, and who, in some instances, upon becoming intimate with the witness, initiated him into one of the degrees.

5. Members of the Order, who, upon a full acquaintance with its principles, have been appalled by its infamous designs, and have voluntarily abandoned it, freely making known their experience to our military authorities. In this class may be placed the female witness, Mary Ann Pitmann, who, though in arrest at the period of her disclosures, was yet induced to make them for the reason that, as she says "at the last meeting which I attended they passed an order which I considered as utterly atrocious and barbarous; so I told them I would have nothing more to do with them." This woman was attached to the command of the rebel

Forrest, as an officer under the name of "Lieutenant Rawley;" but, because her sex afforded her unusual facilities for crossing our lines, she was often employed in the execution of important commissions within our territory, and, as a member of the Order, was made extensively acquainted with other members, both of the Northern and Southern sections. Her testimony is thus peculiarly valuable, and being a person of unusual intelligence and force of character, her statements are succinct, pointed and emphatic. They are also especially useful as fully corroborating those of other witnesses regarded as most trustworthy.

6. Officers of the Order of high rank, who have been prompted to present confessions, more or less detailed, in regard to the Order and their connection with it. The principals of these are Hunt, Dunn and Smith, Grand Commander, Deputy Grand Commander and Grand Secretary of the Order in Missouri, to whose statements frequent reference has been made. These confessions, though in some degree guarded and disingenuous, have furnished to the Government much important information as to the operations of the Order, especially in Missouri, the affiliation of its leaders with Price, etc. It is to be noted that Dunn makes the statement in common with other witnesses that, in entering the Order he was quite ignorant of its ultimate purposes. He says: "I did not become a member understandingly; the initiatory step was taken in the dark, without reflection and without knowledge."

7. Deserters from our army, who, upon being apprehended, confessed that they had been induced and

assisted to desert by members of the Order. It was, indeed, principally from these confessions that the existence of the secret treasonable organization of the Knights of the Golden Circle was first discovered in Indiana, in the year 1862.

8. Writers of anonymous communications, addressed to the heads of departments or Provost Marshals, disclosing facts corroborative of other more important statements.

9. The witnesses before the Grand Jury at Indianapolis, in 1863, when the Order was formally presented as a treasonable organization, and those whose testimony has been recently introduced upon the trial of Dodd.

It need only be added that a most satisfactory test of the credibility and weight of much of the evidence which has been furnished, is afforded by the printed testimony in regard to the character and intention of the Order, which is found in its National and State constitutions and its ritual. Indeed, the statements of the various witnesses are but presentations of the logical and inevitable consequences and results of the principles therein set forth.

In concluding this review, it remains only to state that a constant reference has been made to the elaborate official reports, in regard to the order of Brigadier General Carrington, commanding the District of Indiana, and of Colonel Sanderson, Provost Marshal General of the Department of Missouri. The great mass of the testimony upon the subject of this conspiracy has been furnished by these officers; the latter acting under the orders of Major General Rosecrans, and the former co-

operating under the instructions of the Secretary of War, with Major General Burbidge, commanding the District of Kentucky, as well as with Governor Morton, of Indiana, who, though at one time greatly embarrassed, by a Legislature strongly tainted with disloyalty, in his efforts to repress this domestic enemy, has at last seen his State relieved from the danger of a civil war.

But although the treason of the Order has been thoroughly exposed, and although its capacity for fatal mischief has, by means of the arrest of its leaders, the seizure of its arms, and the other vigorous means which have been pursued, been seriously impaired, it is still busied with its plottings against the Government, and with its perfidious designs in aid of the Southern rebellion. It is reported to have recently adopted new signs and passwords, and its members assert that foul means will be used to prevent the success of the Administration at the coming election, and threaten an extended revolt in the event of the re-election of President Lincoln.*

In the presence of the rebellion and of this secret Order—which is but its echo and faithful ally—we cannot but be amazed at the utter and widespread profligacy, personal and political, which these movements against the Government disclose. The guilty men engaged in them, after casting aside their allegiance, seem

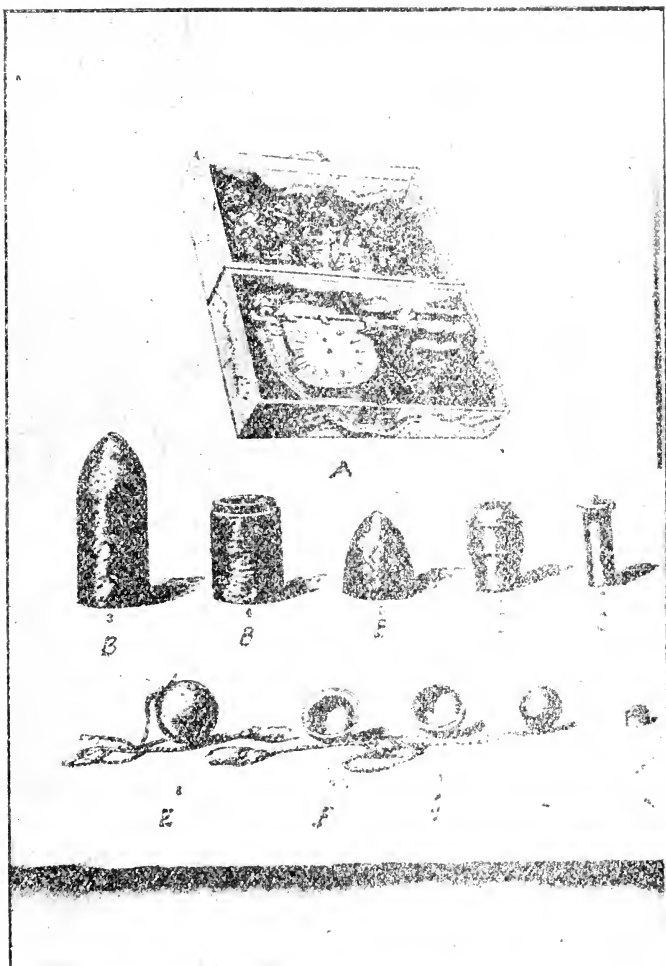
*This was the period when the plotting of the Conspirators, under the name "Sons of Liberty," became most active and most dangerous in Chicago, Illinois.—plots foiled by the author of this work and his men, as certified to by the most eminent officials, civil and military, of the Nation. Every thinking mind cognizant of the facts, must concede that had not the conspiracy in Illinois been fully and promptly disclosed to the Government, the proceedings against the treasonable orders in Indiana and elsewhere would have been of no avail, for the primary and subsequent plots would most certainly have been executed in all their horrid details.

to have trodden under foot every sentiment of honor and every restraint of law, human and divine. Judea produced but one Judas Iscariot, and Rome, from the sinks of her demoralization, produced but one Catiline; and yet, as events prove, there has arisen together in our land an entire brood of such traitors, all animated by the same parricidal spirit, and all struggling with the same relentless malignity for the dismemberment of our Union. Of this extraordinary phenomenon—not paralleled, it is believed, in the world's history—there can be but one explanation, and all these blackened and fetid streams of crime may well be traced to the same common fountain. So fiercely intolerant and imperious was the temper engendered by slavery, that when the Southern people, after having controlled the national councils for half a century, were beaten at an election, their leaders turned upon the Government with the insolent fury with which they would have drawn their revolvers on a rebellious slave, in one of their negro quarters; and they have continued since to prosecute their warfare, amid all the barbarisms and atrocities naturally and necessarily inspired by the infernal institution in whose interests they are sacrificing alike themselves and their country. Many of these conspirators, as is well known, were fed, clothed and educated at the expense of the nation, and were loaded with its honors at the very moment they struck at its life with the horrible criminality of a son stabbing the bosom of his own mother while impressing kisses on his cheeks. The leaders of the traitors in the loyal States, who so completely fraternize with these conspirators, and whose

machinations are now unmasked, it is as clearly the duty of the Administration to prosecute and punish, as it is the duty to subjugate the rebels who are openly in arms against the Government. In the performance of this duty, it is entitled to expect, and will doubtless receive, the zealous co-operation of true men everywhere, who, in crushing the truculent foe ambushed in the haunts of this secret Order, should rival in courage and faithfulness the soldiers who are so nobly sustaining our flag on the battle-fields of the South.

J. HOLT, Judge Advocate General.

War Department, Bureau of Military Justice, Washington, D. C., October 8, 1864.



INFERNAL MACHINES.
[See Explanation Page xvi.]

CHAPTER XXIV.

ASSASSINATION IN THIS COUNTRY AND IN EUROPE
—MANY HISTORICAL FACTS OF GREATEST INTEREST.

The following article, from the pen of Hon. C. C. Hazewell, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1865, and which, by the courtesy of Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, the publishers, we are permitted to copy, will be read with especial interest:

“The assassination of President Lincoln threw the whole Nation into mourning,—the few exceptions to those who deplored the President’s violent and untimely end only serving to make the general regret the more manifest. Of all our Presidents since Washington, Mr Lincoln had excited the smallest amount of that feeling which places its object in personal danger. He was a man who made a singularly favorable impression on those who approached him, resembling in that respect President Jackson, who often made warm friends of bitter foes, when circumstances had forced them to seek his presence; and it is probable, that, if he and the hon-

est chiefs of the Rebels could have been brought face to face, there never would have been civil war,—at least any contest of grand proportions; for he would not have failed to convince them that all that they had any right to claim, and therefore all that they could expect their fellow-citizens to fight for, would be more secure under his government than it had been under the governments of such men as Pierce and Buchanan, who made use of sectionalism and slavery to promote the selfish interests of themselves and their party. The estimation in which he was latterly held by the most intelligent of the Secessionists indicates, that, had they been acquainted with him, their Secessionism never would have got beyond the nullification of the Palmetto Nullifiers; and that was all fury and fuss, without any fighting in it. Ignorance was the parent of the civil war, as it has been the parent of many other evils,—ignorance of the character and purpose of the man who was chosen President in 1860–61, and who entered upon official life with less animosity toward his opponents than ever before or since had been felt by a man elected to a great place, after a bitter and exciting contest. There is not the slightest reason for doubting the sincerity of Mr. Lincoln's declaration, that his administration should be Constitutional in its character; nor can it be said that the earlier Rebels ever supposed that he would invade their Constitutional rights. They rebelled because circumstances enabled them to attempt the realization of their long-cherished dream of a slave-holding Confederacy, and because they saw that never again, in their time, would another such opportunity be offered to effect a traitorous purpose.

It was clear to every mind that a year of quiet under the new administration would dispel the delusion that the North was about to overthrow the old polity; and therefore the violent men of the South were determined that that administration never should have a fair trial. Their action at Charleston, in 1860, by rendering the election of the Republican candidate certain, shows that they wished an occasion for revolt; and the course of President Buchanan, who refused to take the commonest precautions for the public safety, gave them a vantage-ground which they speedily occupied, and so made war inevitable.

That one of the most insignificant of their number should have murdered the man whose election they declared to be cause for war is nothing strange, being in perfect keeping with their whole course.

The wretch who shot the chief magistrate of the Republic is of hardly more account than was the weapon which he used. The real murderers of Mr. Lincoln are the men whose action brought about the civil war. Booth's deed was a logical proceeding following strictly from the principles avowed by the Rebels, and in harmony with their course during the last five years. The fall of a public man by the hand of an assassin always affects the mind more strongly than it is affected by the fall of thousands of men in battle; but, in strictness, Booth, vile as his deed was, can be held to have been no worse, morally, than was that old gentleman who insisted upon being allowed the privilege of firing the first shot at Fort Sumter. Ruffin's act is not so disgusting as Booth's; but of the two

men, Booth exhibited the greater courage,—courage of the basest kind, indeed, but sure to be attended with the heaviest risks, as the hand of every man would be directed against its exhibitor.

Had the Rebels succeeded, Ruffin would have been honored by his fellows; but even a successful Southern Confederacy would have been too hot a country for the abode of a willful murderer. Such a man would have been no more pleasantly situated even in South Carolina than was Benedict Arnold in England. And as he chose to become an assassin after the event of the war had been decided, and when his victim was bent upon sparing Southern feeling, so far as it could be spared without injustice being done to the country, Booth must have expected to find his act condemned by every rational Southern man as a worse than useless crime, as a blunder of the very first magnitude. Had he succeeded in getting abroad, Secession exiles would have shunned him, and have treated him as one who had brought an ineffaceable stain on their cause, and also had rendered their restoration to their homes impossible.

The pistol shot of Sergeant Corbett saved him from the gallows, and it saved him also from the denunciations of the men whom he thought to serve. He exhibited, therefore, a species of courage that is by no means common; for he not only risked his life, and rendered it impossible for honorable men to sympathize with him, but he ran the hazard of being denounced and cast off by his own party. This places him above those who would have assassinated their country, but who took

care to keep themselves within the rules of honorable action, as the world counts honor. He perilled everything, while they staked only their lives and their property. Their success would have justified them in general estimation, but his success would have been his ruin. He was fortunate in meeting death so soon, and not less so in the mode of his exit from the stage of life.

All Secessionists who retain any self-respect must rejoice that one whose doings brought additional ignominy on a cause that could not well bear it, has passed away and gone to his account. It would have been more satisfactory to loyal men if he had been reserved for the gallows; but even they must admit that it is a terrible trial to any people who get possession of an odious criminal, because they may be led so to act as to disgrace themselves, and to turn sympathy in the direction of the evil-doer. No fouler murder ever was perpetrated than that of which Booth was guilty; and had he been taken alive and sound, it is possible that our conduct would not have been of such a character as it would have been pleasing to think of after our just passion should have cooled. We should recollect, that, a hundred and sixty years after its occurrence, the shouting of Englishmen over the verdict of *Guilty*, rendered against Charnock and his associates, because of their part in the Assassination Plot, is condemned by the greatest of English historians, who was the last man to be suspected of sympathizing with men who sought to murder William III.

A disposition to insult the fallen, no matter how vile may be their offences, or how just their fall, is not an

American characteristic; but so wide-spread and well-founded was the indignation caused by the basest murder of modern times, that we might have been unjust to ourselves, if the murderer had come whole into our hands. Therefore the shot of Sergeant Corbett is not to be regretted, save that it gave too honorable a form of death to one who had earned all that there is of a disgraceful character in that mode of dying to which a peculiar stigma is attached by the common consent of mankind.

Whether Booth was the agent of a band of conspirators, or was one of a few vile men who sought an odious immortality, it is impossible to say. We have the authority of a high Government official for the statement that "the President's murder was organized in Canada and approved at Richmond;" but the evidence in support of this extraordinary announcement is, doubtless for the best of reasons, withheld at the time we write. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the assassination plot was formed in Canada, as some of the vilest miscreants of the Secession side have been allowed to live in that country. We know that there were other plots formed in that country against us,—plots that were to a certain extent carried into execution, and which led to loss of life.

The ruffians who were engaged in the St. Albans raid—which was as much an insult to England, as it was a wrong to us—were exactly the sort of men to engage in a conspiracy to murder Federal magistrates; but it is not probable that British subjects had anything to do with any conspiracy of this kind. The Canadian



HON. AUSTIN BLAIR, WAR GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN.

error was in allowing the scum of Secession to abuse the "right of hospitality" through the pursuit of hostile action against us from the territory of a neutral. If injustice is done their country in this instance, Canadians should recollect that what is known to have been done there for our injury, is quite sufficient to warrant the suspicions that more was there done to increase the difficulties of our situation than now distinctly appears.

The country that contains such justices as Coursol and Smith cannot complain, if its sense of fairness is not rated very high by its neighbors,—neighbors who have suffered from Secessionists allowed to make Canada a basis of operations against the United States, though the United States and Great Britain are at peace.

That a plan to murder President Lincoln should have been approved at Richmond, is nothing strange; and though such approval would have been supremely foolish, what but supreme folly is the chief characteristic of the whole Southern movement? If the seal of Richmond's approval was placed on a plan formed in Canada, something more than the murder of Mr. Lincoln was intended. It must have been meant to kill every man who could legally take his place, either as President or President *pro tempore*. The only persons who had any title to step into the Presidency, on Mr. Lincoln's death, were Mr. Johnson, who became President on the 15th of April, and Mr. Foster, one of the Connecticut Senators, who is President of the Senate. There was no Speaker of the House of Representatives; so that one of the officers designated temporarily to act

as President, on the occurrence of a vacancy, had no existence at the time of Mr. Lincoln's death, has none at this time, and can have none until Congress shall have met, and the House of Representatives have chosen its presiding officer.

It does not appear that any attempt was made on the life of Mr. Foster, though Mr. Johnson was on the list of those doomed by the assassins; and the savage attack made on Mr. Seward shows what those assassins were capable of. But had all the members of the Administration been struck down at the same time, it is not at all probable that "anarchy" would have been the effect, though to produce that must have been the object aimed at by the conspirators. Anarchy is not so easily brought about as persons of an anarchical turn of mind suppose. The training we have gone through since the close of 1860, has fitted us to bear many rude assaults on order without our becoming disorderly. Our conviction is, that, if every man who held high office at Washington had been killed, on the 14th of April, things would have gone pretty much as we have seen them go, and that thus the American people would have vindicated their right to be considered a self-governing race.

It would not be a very flattering thought, that the peace of the country is at the command of any dozen of hardened ruffians who should have the capacity to form an assassination plot, the discretion to keep silent respecting their purpose, and the boldness and the skill requisite to carry it out to its utmost minute details: for the neglect of one of these details might be fatal to the whole project. Society does not exist in such peril as that.

Does any one suppose, that, if the Gunpowder Plot had been a success,—that, if Kings, Lords, and Commons had all been hoisted by Mr. Fawkes, the English nation would have gone to wreck, that it could not have survived the loss of most of the royal family, the greater part of the peerage, and most of the gentlemen who had been chosen to serve in the House of Commons? England would have survived such a blow as that blowing-up would have inflicted on her, though for the time she might have been in a very confused condition; and so we should have survived—and we believe without exhibiting much confusion—all the efforts of assassins to murder our leading men, had those efforts been entirely successful.

It is possible, and indeed very probable, that Booth and his associates were originally moved to become assassins by that sentiment which has caused many other men to assail public characters, and sometimes with the bloodiest success. This supposition does not exclude the action of more eminent persons from the tragedy, who may have urged on those hot-headed fools to the completion of their work. Booth was precisely that sort of man who was likely to be the victim of the astounding delusion that to kill President Lincoln would be to place him in history alongside of those immortal tyrant-killers whose names are in most people's mouths, and whose conduct is seldom condemned and very often is warmly approved.

There is constant praise going on of those who, in classic times, put to death men who have held, or aspired to obtain, improper power, or whose conduct

was cruel. Booth thought that Mr. Lincoln was a usurper, and that his conduct was cruel; and he could have cited abundance of evidence from the speeches and writings of Northern men, professing to be sound Unionists, in support of the position that the President was a usurper and a tyrant.

Having convinced himself that such was the position and character of the President, it was the most natural thing in the world that he, a Southern man, and brought up on those sensational tragedies in which human life is easily taken on all occasions, should have jumped at the conclusion that it was his duty to kill the man whose plan and action he had so strangely misconceived. If, while he was thus deluding himself with the notion that he was about to rival Harmodious and Aristogeiton, and other Grecian foes of tyrants, there came to him men who had too much sense to be deluded by such nonsense, but who, nevertheless, were not above profiting, as they regarded profit, from his folly, it is all but certain that he may have had accomplices who have not as yet been suspected, persons to whom exposure would be much greater punishment than death. Those old Greek and Roman writers have much to answer for as they have conferred a sort of sancity upon assassination, provided the victim be rightly selected; and who is to decide whether he is so selected or not? If murderers are to decide upon the deserts of their victim, there never was a murder committed.

Much of the literature that furnishes material for the instruction of youth, is devoted to the laudation of blood shedding, provided always the blood that is shed is that

of a tyrant; and who is to say whether it is so or not? Why, the tyrant-killer, to be sure. This is an admirable arrangement for securing simplicity of proceedings, but it admits of some doubt whether it can be quite approved on the score of impartiality. When a man unites in his own person the characters of accuser, judge and executioner, it is within the limits of possibility that he may be slightly untrustworthy. But in what is known as classical literature, not only are tyrant-slayers allowed to have their own way and say, but their action is upheld and defended by great geniuses, who never killed anybody with their own hands, but who had a marvellous fondness for those whose hands were blood-stained.

Cicero, for example, is never tired of sounding the praises of eminent homicides. He scarcely praised himself more than he eulogized illustrious murderers of other days. And on his own eloquent words in honor of assassination are the "ingenuous youth" of Christian countries trained and taught. That some of them should go astray under such teaching is nothing to wonder at. This has happened in other countries, and why should it not happen here? Assassination is not an American crime; *but it is not the less true that Brutuses have been invoked in this country, and that

* The word assassin, according to that eminent Orientalist, Sylvester de Lacy, is derived from hashish, being the liquid preparation on which the Old Man of the Mountain used to intoxicate his operators, and which appears to have been an uncommonly powerful tippie. The men whom he thus drugged or hocused, when they were to commit murder were called, in Arabic, hashishun in the plural, and Hashishi in the singular. The Crusaders brought the word from the East. The ancients had not the word, but they had the thing, as the English suffer from ennui, but have no name for it. A temperance lecturer might turn this connection between blind drunkenness and reckless murder to some good purpose.

more than once President Jackson was pointed out as one from whose tyranny the country might advantageously be relieved after the high Roman fashion. One man fired at him,—an Englishman, named Laurence, in 1834; but he proved to be insane, and was treated as a madman. Lieutenant Randolph, a Virginian, assaulted President Jackson, but not with the view to assassinate him. Brook's assault on Senator Sumner was an assassin's act, and a far more cowardly deed than that which Booth perpetrated, though it had a less tragical termination. The assassinating spirit has been increasing fast in the South, which is one proof of the growth of the aristocratical sentiment there,—assassination being much more in vogue among aristocrats than among monarchists, or democrats, and most of the renowned assassins and conspirators having been aristocrats.

It denotes the change in our condition that has been wrought by slavery and civil war, that assassination should have been much talked of here, and that at least the head of the Republic should have fallen before an assassin's fire.

In other countries assassination has often been resorted to by parties and by individuals, but until very recently no public man can be said to have been taken off by an assassin in America. Booth and his associates stand alone in our history. Others may have talked pistols and daggers, but it was left for them to use weapons so odious for purposes of the same nature. Under the belief that the reader may not be indisposed to see what has been done by assassins in other countries, we shall here cite some remarkable instances of their deeds, passing over classic antiquity and modern Italy.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MURDER'S GOLDEN AGE—FIERCE STRUGGLE OF
IDEAS OLD AND NEW—PHILIP II. OLD MAN OF
THE MOUNTAIN.—ARGUMENT OF THE ASSASSIN.

In the sixteenth century, assassination flourished to an extent never before or since known: the hundred years that followed Luther's appearance on the great stage forming murder's golden age, whether we consider the number or the quality of the persons slain or conspired against, or the sort of persons who condescended to act on the principle that killing is no murder.

Reformers and reactionists had their assassins; but it must be acknowledged that the latter had the best (which was the worst) of the game, so that nearly all the infamous names that have come down to us won immortality in their service. It was a great, a stirring time, one that was fertile in the manner of crimes, and

in which a gentleman that had much nerve, and no scruples, was sure of constant and well-paid employment, and might make his fortune—or that of his family, if he chanced to be cut off because he had cut down some eminent personage whose life was a great inconvenience to this or that sovereign or party.

The conflict that was waged was one of opinion, and therefore was fertile of fanatics, a class of men who have furnished a large force of assassins, who have generally acted on principle, without always being heedless of their interests. In the fierce struggle between old ideas and new, every weapon was employed, and the talents and dispositions of all kinds of men were made available by the great managers, who had the casting of the performers, in the numerous tragedies that were played. There was not a country in which assassination was unknown; and in most countries it was common, kings and churchmen being its patrons, and not unfrequently perished by the very arts which under their fostering care had been carried to the highest pitch of artistic perfection.

Philip II was the most powerful monarch of those days. His regal career began just as the Reformation was at its height, and when the Reaction was about to begin. He was a sort of Christian Old Man of the Mountain; and assassination was with him a regular business, a portion of his mode of governing the many races that owned his sway. Mignet, in his "*Antonio Perez et Philippe II.*," after mentioning that Philip gave instructions to put Escovedo to death, says,—
"This order would appear strange on the part of the

King, if we did not call to mind the practices as well as the theories of that violent age, so fertile in assassinations. Death was then the last argument of belief, the extreme, but frequent means employed by parties, kings and subjects. They were not satisfied with killing; they believed they had the right. Certain casuists attributed this right, some to princes, others to the people. Here is what the friar Diego de Chaves, Philip's confessor, wrote upon the very subject of Escovedo's death:

‘According to my view of the laws, the secular prince who has power over the life of his inferiors or subjects, even as he can deprive them of it for a just cause, and by judgment in form, may also do so without all this, since superfluous forms and all judicial proceedings are no laws for him who may dispense with them. It is, consequently, no crime on the part of a subject, who, by a sovereign order, has put another subject to death. We must believe that the prince has given this order for a just cause, even as the law always presumes that there is one in all the actions of the sovereign.’ ”

When such a king as Philip II. has such a ghostly father as Diego de Chaves, assassination may become common. Escovedo was murdered, but there were others besides the King concerned in his taking off, one of them being the Princess of Eboli, widow of Philip's first favorite, Ruy Gomez de Silva, and Antonio Perez; and it was because the King believed they had tricked him in his business that Perez fell, and, when in exile, had his life sought by some of his old master's assassins. Two Irishmen were authorized to kill him by Philip's Governor of the Netherlands, but failed, and were hanged in London.

Baron de Pinella tried to kill Perez at Paris, was detected, and executed. As he had been himself an active assassin, Perez could not well complain of these attempts; but they illustrate the theory and practice of the powerful Spanish monarch. Perez was one of those persons who labored to bring about the assassination of William (the Silent) of Orange. Writing to Escovedo, who was Secretary to Don John of Austria, then in the Netherlands, Perez observes:

“Let it never be absent from your mind that a good occasion must be found for finishing Orange, since, besides the service which will thus be rendered to our master, and to the States, it will be worth something to ourselves”; to which highly moral injunction Escovedo replied:

“You know that the finishing of Orange is very near my heart.” There is something almost comical in this correspondence, considering its circumstances: Perez urging upon the man whom he was soon to assassinate, the duty of procuring the assassination of the Prince of Orange, to whose party in Europe he was destined ere long to join himself.

Philip has been suspected of having procured the death of his half-brother, Don John of Austria, by poison; but in this instance he is entitled at least to the Scotch verdict of *Not proven*. He did bring about the assassination of his ablest enemy, the Prince of Orange, though not until after failures so numerous as would have served to discourage a man of less persistent mind. Five unsuccessful attempts to kill the Prince were made in two years; the sixth was successful, that of Balthazar

Gerard, who shot the Dutch deliverer on the 10th of July, 1584, in his house at Delft.

Like Booth, Gerard used the pistol, a weapon that seems to have been invented for the promotion of murder. He made a determined effort to get off, and might have succeeded, had he not stumbled over a heap of rubbish. To all these attacks on Orange some of the most eminent Spanish statesmen and soldiers of that time were parties, and Spain was then the premier nation.

The Prince of Parma, one of the foremost men of a period in which there was an absolute glut of talent, spoke of Gerard's detestable crime as a "laudable and generous deed," and strongly recommended that the reward which had been offered for the Prince's murder should be conferred on his parents, a suggestion with which Philip gladly complied.

Those parents were made noble, and were further rewarded by the grant of certain estates in Franche-Comte, the property of their son's victim. This was to reverse the old saying "Happy is the child whose father goeth to the Devil!"—for the happiness of the father was made by the child's taking the downward road. "At a later day," says Motley, "when the unfortunate eldest son of Orange returned from Spain, after twenty-seven years' absence, a changeling and a Spaniard, the restoration of those very estates was offered to him by Philip II., provided he would continue to pay a fixed proportion of their rents to the family of his father's murderer. The education which Philip William had received, under the King's auspices,

had, however, not entirely destroyed all his human feelings, and he rejected the proposal with scorn. The estates remained with the Gerard family, and the patents of nobility which they had received were used to justify their exemption from certain taxes, until the union of Franche-Comte with France, when a French governor tore the documents to pieces, and trampled them under foot."

It would be tedious to mention all the assassinations with which Philip II. was connected. He and his pro-consuls and ambassadors were concerned in many of the plots that were directed against the peace of countries whose power was dreaded by Spain, or against the lives of their sovereigns or other eminent personages.

Elizabeth of England was to have been served after the same fashion as Orange. Alva sent assassins to take her off. Much of the assassination-work that was done in France proceeded from Spain. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was a Spanish inspiration. In these days it would be called a *coup d'etat*.

All Philip's proceedings toward his enemies were characterized by the spirit of assassination. The murder of Montigny is a strong case in point; and the artful manner in which Egmont and Horn were inveigled into his toils shows that he was a master-hand at conspiracy. Had there been two Philips in Europe, one would have assassinated the other, and it would have been dangerous to bet on the success of either.

France had her grand assassinations in the sixteenth century; and a perfect crop they were, in which kings were conspirators or were conspired against, killed or

were killed, according to the supposed requirements of state policy or the necessities of high-placed individuals.

At earlier dates assassination was far from being unknown in France; and some remarkable cases occurred there in those awful times when the Burgundian and Armagnac parties existed. The Duke of Orleans was assassinated, and, later, the Duke of Burgundy. Louis XI., who had rebelled against his father, is believed to have murdered his brother, and also to have sought the death of Charles of Burgundy.

CHAPTER XXV.

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH ASSASSINATIONS WERE OF THE MOST STRIKING ORDER.

The marriage of Catharine de' Medici with that French prince who became Henry II. is supposed to have been attended with the effect of debauching French morals, as the Italians had a prodigiously bad reputation as assassins, and particularly as poisoners. Catharine was totally unscrupulous, having about as much of moral sense as goes to the making of a tigress; but it needed not that she should marry into the House of Valois to render assassination a Gallic crime. It would have existed in France all the same, had she never been born.

It was a moral plague that ran over Europe, as the Black Death made the same tour a couple of hundred years earlier. Poltrot killed Francis, Duke of Guise, the greatest man of a great race. Henry, Duke of Guise, Francis' son, was concerned in a plot to murder the Admiral Coligny, shortly before the St. Bartholo-

mew, and was one of the Admiral's murderers in the Massacre. Henry of Guise was assassinated by Henry III., last of the Valois kings of France, who took upon himself to act in accordance with the principles laid down by Diego de Chaves, which James II. had acted on in the case of the Black Douglas, and on which Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, afterward acted toward Wallenstein, who was basely murdered. Henry III. was soon made to follow his victim, being assassinated by Jacques Clement, a Jacobin monk and a Leaguer.

Henry IV. was killed by Francois Ravallac, a Romish fanatic, who was in bad odor with all respectable Catholics who knew him. Richelieu lived in a condition not unlike that which Cromwell knew, being often conspired against. Louis XV. was attacked by Damiens, who was put to death by cruel tortures.

In the Revolution there were several assassins, the most noted of whom was Charlotte Corday, praises of whom are so common as to weaken the force of that feeling which should ever be directed against murder. Granted that Marat was as bad as he is painted, no individual has the right to slay him. Bonaparte was in great danger from assassins; and it was not until he had the Duc d'Enghien assassinated that he obtained a respite from their attacks, which were regarded with ill-disguised approbation, even by respectable persons who were his enemies, or those of France. A German youth endeavored to kill Napoleon in 1809, and was shot. In the "Declaration" put forth by the Congress of Vienna against Napoleon, after his return from Elba,

the Emperor was deliberately delivered over to assassins in the following terms:

“Les Puissances déclarent en consequence, que Napoleon Bonaparte s’est place hors des relations civiles et sociales et que, comme ennemi et perturbateur du repos du monde, il s’est livre a la vindicte publique.” To the paper containing this rascally sentence stands affixed the name of Wellington, who, however, indignantly denied that he ever meant to authorize or to suggest the assassination of Napoleon. No doubt his denial was honestly made, but the legitimate construction of the words is favorable to the opposite view.

A French officer named Cantallon was charged with having attempted to assassinate Wellington, and was tried and acquitted; and Napoleon bequeathed ten thousand francs to Cantallon, which bequest was paid after Napoleon III. became master of France, much to the indignation of some Englishmen.

The Duc de Berri, son of the Comte d’Artois, (later Charles X.,) and the hope of the Bourbons, was killed by Louvel, at the opera, in February 1820: and his son, the present Comte de Chambord, was born in the following Autumn. Louis Philippe, when King of the French, was so often attacked with fire-arms and infernal machines that one becomes dizzy in thinking of his escapes.

Napoleon III. has been in great peril from assassins. Orsini’s attempt to kill was a terrible piece of butchery, causing the death or mutilation of many persons, resembling in that respect the result of Fieschi’s attempt to murder Louis Philippe. Had Orsini’s attempt

proved as successful as Booth's, it is probable that there never would have been a Secession War in this country. The Rebels counted much on European intervention, as they supposed that France and England would act together in their behalf; and had the Emperor been killed in 1858, the "cordial understanding" between the great nations of Western Europe would have come to an end, and perhaps they would have gone to war.

The state of foreign affairs in 1860 had much more to do with bringing on our civil war than appears on the surface of things.

Scotland is a country in which assassins have figured largely, and her history is more disfigured by their acts than that of any other modern nation, due allowance being made for the smallness of her territory, and the limited number of her people. This peculiarity in Scotch history is principally owing to the circumstance, that, as a ruler, Scotland has been more aristocratically dominated than any other community; and aristocracies are more prolific of assassins than democracies or monarchies, as before said.

Aristocrats, members of privileged classes, are less patient of restriction, and more prone to take the righting of what they call their wrongs into their own hands than are other men. Violence of all kinds was for centuries more common in Scotland than in any other European country that had made the same advances in civilization; and the troubles that overtook so many of her monarchs were the natural consequences of their position. The House of Stuart has been called "the Fated Line;" and it deserved the name, because it stood

nominally at the head of a nation that really was ruled by the fiercest aristocracy that ever plagued a people or perplexed monarchs.

The independence of Scotland, her salvation from that English rule with which she was threatened by Edward I., whose success would have made her what Ireland became under English ascendancy, was based on a deed which even some Scotch writers have not hesitated to speak of as reprehensible,—the killing, namely of Comyn in a church at Dumfries, by Bruce and Kirkpatrick; and it seems as if the blood-stain then and there contracted, clung to the Stuarts, who were descended from Bruce by the female line.

The Duke of Rothesay, son of Robert III., and heir-apparent, was murdered by his uncle, the Duke of Albany, whose purpose was to divert the crown to his own branch of the family. Rothesay's brother became James I., and he was assassinated by Sir Robert Grahame, the King's offence being that he wished to introduce something like regular government into Scotland, having learned the value of order in England, where he had passed many years as a prisoner. Grahame was one of the most ferocious of the savages who then formed the Scotch aristocracy, and he had no idea of seeing radicalism made rampant in his country; and so he headed a conspiracy against the King and murdered him.

James II. was himself an assassin, as he stabbed the Earl of Douglas, who had come to him under the assurance of safety, and who was cut to pieces by some of the royal retainers, after their master had set them an

example. The King's excuse was, that the Douglas had become too powerful to be proceeded against regularly; and indeed, the question then before Scotland was, whether that country should be ruled by the House of Douglas or the House of Stuart, and we cannot wonder that a king, in the fifteenth century, should conclude rather to murder than to be murdered. James II. overthrew the Black Douglas and in his case assassination *did* prosper. James III. was assassinated while flying from a field of battle on which he had been beaten by rebels.

Mary Stuart, daughter of James V., is believed by many historical inquirers to have been a party to the assassination of her husband, (Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, who was her relative,) the question whether she did thus act forming the turning point in that famous Marian Controversy which has raged for three hundred years, and which seems to be no nearer a decision now than it was before Loch Leven and Fotheringay,—Mr. Froude, the last of the great champions in the fight, having pronounced, with all his usual directness, adversely to the Rose of Scotland. Whether Mary was an assassin or not it is beyond all doubt that her husband was one of the assassins of the servant Rizzio, who was murdered in her very presence.

Mary's son, James VI., stands in the strangest relation to an extraordinary assassination of any man in history. The Gowrie Conspiracy is yet a riddle. According to one class of historical critics, the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, were bent upon assassinating the King; while another class are quite as

positive that the King was bent upon assassinating the Ruthvens, and that he accomplished his purpose.

We confess that we are strongly inclined to go with those who say that the Ruthvens were victims, and not baffled assassins; and we have always admired the reply of the clergyman to whom the King condescended to tell his story, in the hope of convincing him of its truth. "Doubtless," said that skeptical, but pious personage, "I must believe it, since your Majesty says you saw it; but I would not have believed it, had I seen it with my own eyes." Was ever a king told more cleverly that he was a liar?

The Earl of Murray, Mary Stuart's bastard brother, and the first of many regents who ruled Scotland during her son's minority, was the victim of the most pardonable act of assassination that we know of,—if such a crime be ever pardonable. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was one of those Scotchmen who joined Mary Stuart after her escape from Loch Leven, and was condemned to death after her failure, but had his life spared, while his estate was confiscated. He might have borne this loss of property, but he became enraged when he heard that his wife had been so treated, when ejected from what had been her own property before her marriage, as to go mad and die. The person who misused her had received the estate from the Earl of Murray; and upon the latter Hamilton resolved to take vengeance. He carried out his plans, which were very cleverly formed, with great skill and coolness, and consequently was successful, taking off his great enemy, and getting off himself. He shot Murray

as he was passing through the town of Linlithgow, stationing himself in a house that belonged to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in and around which everything had been prepared for the killing of one man and the escape of another.

It is beyond all doubt that the Archbishop was a party to the crime, or Bothwellhaugh could not have had the facilities which were his for obtaining revenge and striking a great blow for the Queen's party. The princely House of Hamilton generally approved of the deed. Let not those, however, who see in the Archbishop's conduct the natural effect of Catholicism, be in too great hurry to attribute his conduct to his religious belief; for there were Protestant assassins in Scotland in those days, and later. Only a few years before, a very eminent Catholic, Cardinal Beaton, who was Archbishop of St. Andrews, was murdered by Norman Lesley; and John Knox associated himself with Lesley, and those by whom he was aided, to hold the castle of St. Andrews against the Government's forces. The murderers of Rizzio were not Catholics, and their victims belonged to the old church. Some of Darnley's murderers were Protestants.

In the next century some remarkable cases of Scotch assassination took place. Montrose stands charged with having attempted to take the lives of Argyle and Hamilton; but we hesitate to believe the story, so great is our admiration of that wonderful man. After the Restoration (1660,) the ultra Protestants, perverting various passages of Scripture, assumed to execute judgment on those whom they held to be enemies of God and the

true Kirk. The man for whom they felt most hatred was James Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews,—a title that seems to have had peculiar attractions for assassins. Sharpe was accused, not untruthfully, of having sold his cause to Government; and he became a marked man with those whom he had betrayed. A preacher named Mitchell fired a pistol into Sharpe's carriage, and wounded the Bishop of the Orkneys so severely that the prelate ultimately died of his injury.

Years later Mitchell was about to make a second attempt on the Archbishop, when he was arrested, tried, imprisoned for some time, condemned, and executed, at the Archbishop's earnest request. The next year Sharpe was slain by a number of Protestants, who were looking for a minor persecutor, and who thought that Heaven had specially delivered the Archbishop into their hands when they encountered his carriage, from which they made him descend, and murdered him in presence of his daughter, using swords and pistols.

Among the many stories told of Claverhouse [then Viscount of Dundee] is one to the effect that he was shot on the battle-field of Killiecrankie by one of his servants, who used a silver button from his livery-coat, the great Grahame being impervious to lead. *About

*Mr. De Quincey's immortal *Connoisseur*, who delivered the Williams Lecture on Murder, speaking of the supposed assassination of Gustavus Adolphus, at the Battle of Lutzen, says, "The King of Sweden's assassination, by-the-by, is doubted by many writers,—Harte amongst others; but they are wrong. He was murdered; and I consider his murder unique in its excellence; for he was murdered at noonday, and on the field of battle,—a feature of original conception, which occurs in no other work of art that I remember." His memory was bad. He must have heard the story that Desaix was murdered on the field of Marengo, after coming up to save Bonaparte from destruction; and he must also have heard the story that Dundee was murdered at Killiecrankie. Mr. Hawthorne mentions that he saw, in an old volume of Colonial newspapers, "a report that General Wolfe was slain, not by the enemy, but by a shot from

the same time, Sir George Lockhart, President of the Court of Session, and head of the Scotch tribunals, was assassinated by Chiesly of Dairy, who was angry because the President had assigned to Mrs. Chiesly, with whom her husband had quarreled, a larger alimony than that husband thought she should have. The business of divorcing, and discriminating as to the amount of ladies' allowances, is a safer one in these times, and fortunate for the judges that it is, considering how much of such business they have to perform. If every hundred divorce cases produced one assassination, lawyers would be rapidly promoted—and shot.

England has contributed a large number of assassinations to the pages of that Newgate serial which is known by the grave name of history. One of her kings, Edward II., is known to have been murdered after his deposition; and it is supposed that he perished by a peculiarly horrible form of death. William Rufus is believed to have been assassinated in the New Forest, though the popular notion is, that he was accidentally killed by an arrow from the bow of Walter Tirrel, which must have been a long bow. Richard II. was probably killed in prison, after deposition. Henry VI. is believed to have been killed in 1471, he being then a prisoner in the hands of the triumphant Yorkists,—but there is no proof that he was killed. Edward V., a boy-monarch, is one of the princes whom Richard III.'s

his own soldiers." All these reports are just as well founded as that which represents Gustavus Adolphus as having been assassinated. Harte's doubts are, as the reader can see by referring to his work, well sustained, and leave the impression that the King was killed in a fair fight. We have heard a very ingenious argument in support of the proposition that Stonewall Jackson was assassinated by some of his own men,—and there is some mystery about the cause or occasion of his death.

enemies said he had smothered in the Tower,—a story to be maintained only by smothering all evidence.

Many English sovereigns were attacked by assassins, but escaped. Edward I. was stabbed by a Mussulman, when he was crusading in the East,—and we had almost said that he was rightly served; for what business had he in that remote part of the world? Henry V. was to have been assassinated, according to the statement of himself and friends; but he had the satisfaction of killing the conspirators judicially.

Elizabeth, as became her superiority to most sovereigns, was a favorite with persons with a taste for assassination strongly developed. She was under the Papal ban, and was an object of the indelicate attentions of that prince of assassins, Philip II.; and his underlings, who were all great people, made her life so uncertain that there never lived the actuary who was capable of estimating the probabilities of its duration. That she escaped is as wonderful as anything in her history, for she did not appear to be very heedful of her personal safety; yet she could punish detected ruffians sharply enough.

James I. was once in no slight danger. No conspiracy ever came so near making a great noise in the world, of a kind very different from that which it did make, as the Gunpowder Plot; and the silence which marked its course is quite as astonishing as the excitement that followed its disclosure. That so many persons should have kept so deadly a secret so long, and so faithfully, is as great a mystery as ever was invented by a writer of the sensation school; and when Catholics declare that

there never was a plot, except that which was formed against their religion, by artful men, for the worst purposes, they do not talk so unreasonably as at the first blush it should seem. This plot was a gentlemanly transaction. There was hardly a person who had part in it who was not a gentleman by birth or education, or both. Catesby, Percy, Rookwood, Digby, the Winters, Grant, Tresham, Keyes, and the Littletons were all members of good families, and some of them of very high families,—as Percy, Digby, Rookwood, and Catesby. Some of them had been Protestants,—as Catesby and Percy; and Digby had been brought up in a Protestant house. Fawkes was of respectable parentage and of good education. Father Garnet, on his trial was spoken of by Sir Edward Coke as having “many excellent gifts and endowments of nature; by birth a gentleman, by education a scholar, by art learned, and a good linguist.” He was brought up a Protestant. That Catholics of such standing, and with such training as should have taught them better, should have engaged in so wicked a conspiracy, was one of the chief reasons why adherents of the ancient religion were treated so cruelly in England for more than two centuries.

Titus Oates’ invention, the Popish Plot, never would have found believers, had not men remembered the Gunpowder Plot. In Cromwell’s time, and during the civil war that preceded it, assassination plots were common, and some succeeded. The Cavaliers had very loose notions on the subject. They killed an English envoy in Holland and another in Spain. Cromwell

was almost as much a target as Louis Philippe became after he was converted, for his sins, into a Citizen King. It is even asserted that he feared assassination, and he was not in the habit of fearing many things. The court of the exiled Stuarts teemed with assassins; and projects for murdering the Protector were there formed, as well as in England. Nothing but the good intelligence which Cromwell purchased saved his life.

Charles II., in his turn, became the object of assassins' attentions. Some of those who meant to kill him were superior men,—as Richard Rumbold, who was able, true, brave, honest, and pious. True, Rumbold in dying expressed his abhorrence of assassination, and denied that he ever had countenanced it; but the distinction which he made, and on which his dying expressions were founded, can deceive no one, and we find it difficult to believe that they deceived Rumbold himself. To have killed the King and the Duke of York after the manner spoken of by the Rye-House plotters would have been to assassinate them, and no amount of sophistry could have given to the conspiracy any other character than that of an assassination plot.

William III. lived in almost as great danger of dying by the hand of an assassin, as his immortal ancestor whom Gerard shot. It shows how common was assassination in those times, and how loose was public morality, that Louis XIV. was a party to at least two of the plots that were formed for taking William's life,—that of Grandval and that of Barclay, the latter known in English history as the Assassination Plot *par excellence*, and which would have succeeded, had two or

three of the parties to it been left out. James II., William's father-in-law, was also concerned in both these plots; and his illegitimate son, the Duke of Berwick, a man of the highest personal integrity, was aware what Barclay was about. Since William's time, English sovereigns have had but little trouble from assassins, and that little has proceeded from insane creatures. George III. was struck at by a crazy woman, one Peg Nicholson, and fired at in a theatre, by a crazy man named Hadfield.

We can recollect three persons firing at Queen Victoria, none of whom were executed, though they all richly deserved hanging. Englishmen of note have been assassinated from time to time. Becket's death was an act of assassination. Two Dukes of Gloucester, of the blood royal, were assassinated in prison,—one in the reign of Richard II., and the other in that of Henry VI. Not a few eminent persons in England were "done to death" by the abuse of judicial proceedings, which were, in fact, acts of assassination. Most of Henry VIII.'s great victims perished by means fouler than any of those to which Richard III. is accused of having had resort; and the manner in which his father, Henry VII., murdered the Earl of Warwick, last of the male Plantagenets, and only because he was a Plantagenet, was a deed worthy of a devil.

Elizabeth, unless she is much libelled, would have avoided the execution of Mary Stuart by resort to assassination, only that her instruments were found scrupulous. The first Duke of Buckingham of the Villiers family was assassinated by John Felton, in Charles I's

reign. Harley, afterward Earl of Oxford, was stabbed by a Frenchman, named Guiscard, Harley being then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Anne's reign. Mr. Perceval, First Lord of the Treasury, was shot by a lunatic named John Bellingham, in 1812, the scene being the lobby of the House of Commons.

In 1819 the Cato-Street Conspiracy was formed by Arthur Thistlewood and others. It was meant to kill the British Ministers, and the mode in which it was finally resolved to proceed was to attack them when they should be assembled at a cabinet dinner, to be given by the Earl of Harrowby, Lord President of the Council. Government knew all about the conspiracy, and allowed it to ripen, and then "bagged" the conspirators. This was in February, 1820; and on the first of May five of the assassins were hanged and five others transported.

When Sir Robert Peel was last Prime Minister, a fellow named M'Naughten sought his life, and killed his private secretary, Mr. Drummond. Sir Robert was so indiscreet as to charge Mr. Cobden with inciting persons to take his life!

Russia has lost several of her sovereigns through assassination, accompanied or preceded by deposition. Ivan VI. was assassinated in prison, almost a quarter of a century after the crown had been taken from him. Peter III. survived his downfall but a week, when he was poisoned, beaten, and strangled. The Czar Paul was so unreasonable as to resist those who were deposing him, and they were under the disagreeable necessity of squeezing his throat so long and so tightly, that breathing became difficult, and at last stopped altogether.

The murderers of both Peter and Paul became great personages, held high offices, did important deeds, and were received in the very best society, as well abroad as at home. Macaulay, in his article on Madame D' Arblay, (Fanny Burney,) mentions the number, the variety, and the greatness of the company with her father, Dr. Burney, assembled frequently at his house. "On one evening, of which we happen to have a full account," he says, "there was present Lord Mulgrave, Lord Bruce, Lord and Lady Edgumbe, Lord Barrington from the War office, Lord Sandwich from the Admiralty, Lord Ashburnham, with his gold key dangling from his pocket, and the French Ambassador, M. de Guignes renowned for his fine person and for his success in gallantry. But the great show of the night was the Russian Ambassador, Count Orloff, whose gigantic figure was all in a blaze of jewels, and in whose demeanor the untamed ferocity of the Scythian might be discerned through a thin varnish of French politeness. As he stalked about the small parlor, brushing the ceiling with his toupee, the girls whispered to each other, with mingled admiration and horror, that he was the favored lover of his august mistress [Catharine II.]; that he had borne the chief part in the revolution to which she owed her throne; and that his huge hands, now glittering with diamond rings, had given the last squeeze to the windpipe of her unfortunate husband." He must have been a nice man for a small party, and peculiarly edifying spectacle for young ladies. And then how fit to be Ambassador at a court the first woman of which was good Queen Charlotte.

Many words have been wasted on the question, whether Catharine II. and Alexander I. consented to the murder, the one of her husband and the other of his father; but the question is absurdly framed. They consented to the act of deposition in each case, and that was the same as to sign the death-warrant. The old saying, that short is the passage of a dethroned monarch from a prison to a grave, applied with peculiar force to Russia: Catharine II. well knew there was no hope for her husband; and Alexander I. could not have been deceived on such a point. While she was at the height of her power, Catharine herself was in danger of being assassinated. Some of the nobles suggested to her son, the Grand Duke Paul, that she should be deposed and murdered, and offered to do the job, quite as a matter of course, and with no more shame than so many English Parliament-men might have felt for proposing to vote a minister out of office. It was *their* mode of effecting a change of ministry, and they regarded the proposition as showing that they were members of the constitutional opposition. As Talleyrand told Bonaparte; when news of Paul's murder reached Paris, "'Tis a way they have there!" Paul rejected the offer to rid him of his mother with horror. His own son was not so moral in after days. Alexander was a haunted man, and remorse made him the crazy wreck that he was in his last years, and shortened his life. He was threatened with assassination by the Russian constitutional opposition, when it was thought that he was giving up too much to Napoleon I.; and the eventful war of 1812 was the result of his fears of that opposition.



JUDGE BUCKNER S. MORRIS,
Grand Seignior of the Illini Temple "Sons of Liberty,"
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When he was at Vienna, attending the memorable Congress, he frankly said that he durst not go back to Russia without having added all of Poland that he claimed to his dominions,—that it was as much as his life was worth to comply with the demands of Austria, France and England with regard to the Poles. This was the real reason why the Polish question was so clumsily disposed of, and left to make trouble for the future. Alexander preferred quarelling with his allies, rather than with his nobles, exactly as he had done when Napoleon I. was his foreign antagonist. There have been persons enough to argue that Alexander I. was assassinated, after all, and also that Nicholas was disposed of in the same constitutional way; but we can see no evidence on which to found any such argument.

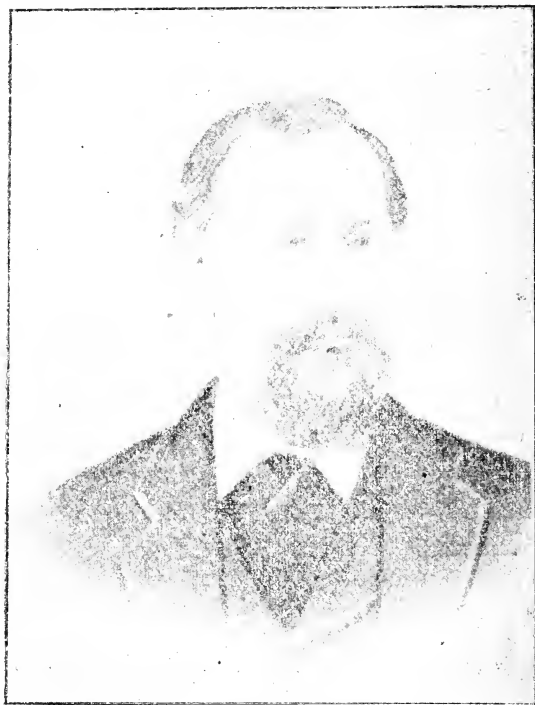
When in the days of the Polish War, (1831) the Grand Duke of Constantine and Marshal Diebitsch died rather suddenly, it was generally believed that they had been assassinated by order of Nicholas, but without any foundation for the belief.

One of the last of the Swedish kings of the line of Vasa, Gustavus III., was assassinated in 1792, being shot by Count Auckarstroem, at a masked ball, March 16. This murder was the result of an aristocratical conspiracy, the King having done much to lessen the power of the nobility. He was engaged at the time he was shot in getting up a crusade against revolutionary France, of which he purposed being the head. He survived his wound thirteen days.

An attempt to assassinate Joseph I., King of Portugal, was made in 1758, when the celebrated Marquise of

Pombal was the real ruler of that country. Many executions took place, including several of the highest nobles. The Jesuits, who were then very unpopular, and against whom most European governments were directing their power, were charged with this crime, and some of them were put to death, and the rest banished from Portugal.

In the year 1831, Count Capo d' Istria, then President of Greece, was assassinated at Nauplia, by the brothers Mauromichalis. He was supposed to be a mere tool of Russia, in whose service much of his life had passed. He was by birth a Greek of the Ionian Islands; and after they had become a portion of Napoleon I.'s empire, he took office in Russia, rising very high. Employed to look after Russia's interests in Greece, he was ultimately chosen President of the latter country in 1827. Popular at first, he soon became odious, and was nothing but a Russian agent. His death probably cut short plans which, had they succeeded, would have had much effect on the course of European events. In the old land, where it was considered a sacred duty to kill tyrants, he was suddenly slain as he was entering a church. His death caused little regret, though the deed of the Mauromichalis was warmly condemned, many persons being ready to profit from crimes, the perpetration of which they are swift to condemn, and as ready to execute the perpetrators.



COL. B. J. SWEET,
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CHAPTER XXVI.

HISTORY OF CAMP DOUGLAS—THE PERIOD OF
IMMINENT PERIL TO THE CAMP AND CITY—DIF-
FICULTIES IN PROSECUTING THE INVESTIGATION—
THRILLING EPISODE.

The following sketch of Camp Douglas by Eleanor Atkinson, in the "Times-Herald" of Chicago is in the main correct, but there are certain additional details essential to a complete record, which we will make:

"The unveiling on Memorial Day, 1895, of a monument to the 6,000 Confederate soldiers who sleep in Oakwoods Cemetery comes in the nature of a surprise to nine-tenths of the citizens of Chicago who have been born in or have come to the "garden city" since the war. To them the rebellion is a remote event that happened in the south, and there the dead lie on historic fields. In the school histories, which is as far as most of us go in the story of our own country, the crack of the rifle echoes back, at the farthest point north, from the knobs of the Ohio River, when Morgan swept his cavalry across the hills and through the ravines of southern Indiana.

But there are men who walk on the streets of Chicago to-day who can remember that in 1864, war smouldered beneath the pavements of the city and could be fanned into flames with a word from the hundreds of Confederate officers, who had escaped from prison and fled to the borders of Canada. Almost every month, Confederate prisoners on their way to Camp Douglas marched through the streets, a menacing force, often with an insufficient guard, if a concerted attack should be made from within and without. The basements in the heart of the town concealed thousands of stands of arms, the Sons of Liberty and Knights of the Golden Circle honeycombed society, and gave secret aid and comfort to the Confederates. Sackings, burnings, riots, massacres and all the horrors of civil war in our midst waited only for a signal.

The signal was never given. Not a shot was fired, not a drop of blood was spilled to be forgiven in this day of reconciliation of differences. Six thousand Confederate soldiers died, but it was from diseases caused by a change of climate and water, from wounds received in battle, from exhaustion and homesickness—nostalgia is a real disease. Daily the military wagons carried gray uniformed figures out to the “old country graveyard by the lake,” over the mud roads, and left the loyal sons of the south to their eternal sleep under the northern snows. Such are the sad fortunes of war. But there is nothing sadder to relate of those who died in Chicago. It is to the lasting honor of this city that the first consignment of prisoners—after the battle of Fort Donaldson in '62—had scarcely arrived before a relief

committee of citizens began to look after their comfort. They were properly clothed for the climate, they were tended in sickness; the last offices of the dead were performed in a spirit of brotherhood. Bloodshed was averted by the Union soldiers and loyal democrats. All this makes the unveiling of a monument to the Confederate dead peculiarly fitting in Chicago, where there were honest differences, indeed, but where rancor and bitterness never got the upper hand of humanity and fraternity.

Where was Camp Douglas? Less than a generation has elapsed since the barracks were removed, the fence and parapet torn down, the parade ground abandoned, the last prisoner exchanged and the guard mustered out, yet there are few men to-day who could give its boundaries, so completely has the tide of population obliterated every land-mark.

It lay directly west of Douglas Square and monument at Thirty-third street, its eastern limit defined by Cottage Grove avenue, and its southern line identical with the northern boundary of the old Chicago University ground. It embraced all the territory west, to Forest avenue, and north to Thirty-first street. But it did not keep inside these limits, though the high board fence extended no farther. At times there were camps and drill grounds to State street, and south to the village of Hyde Park. When the camp was located north of the university in 1861 by A. C. Fuller, adjutant general of Illinois, the ground it occupied and all about it was open prairie. The icy winds had a clear sweep from

the lake, unimpeded by buildings, and Cottage Grove avenue was the only clearly defined street. The tower and turrets of the stone cottage sprang from the virgin soil to the south, and could have commanded both prison and garrison had an armed force of fifty men been posted at the north windows.

The only other house near was the homestead of Henry Graves, that cut a block with 300 feet of frontage out of the eastern side. A plank fence twelve feet high and a Federal sentinel on the parapet below, was all that separated the home of this quiet citizen from 22,000 prisoners of war at the time of the great northwestern conspiracy in 1864. Yet he lived there in peace during the whole period of the war, and his children played under the muzzles of the garrison guns. He lived there up to a few years ago on Graves place, a street a half block long that runs from Cottage Grove avenue to Thirty-third street. He has seen the "billowy bays of grass" plowed up and paved with cobble stones, cedar block and asphalt. He has seen Thirty-second street cut through from east to west, and Rhodes, Vernon, South Park and Calumet avenues, successively intersect the camp ground. He has seen the abandonment and destruction of the stately college, so long a landmark to voyagers by sea and land, the raising of Douglas monument and the building of busy streets. The only relic that remains of the troubled times of the war is underground—the Thirty-third street sewer that was constructed by Confederate soldiers to drain the camp, and where several of them nearly lost their lives by the caving in of the banks.

But in spite of all the changes, he could, a few years ago, show you where the main gate was located on Cottage Grove avenue, where were the parade grounds, the hospital, the Union and Confederate barracks, the ovens and commissary departments, and the tunnel, whence many prisoners attempted to escape, now filled up and obliterated, and the dead line beyond which any man ventured at his peril.

Early in the Summer of 1861, Colonel Joseph H. Tucker was sent by Governor Yates to take command of the northern district of Illinois. Camp Douglas was at first intended to be used as a training ground and rendezvous for recruits, from all the northwest, but Captain Christopher, United States recruiting officer in Chicago, assumed the cost of constructing barracks and fence, and the place was turned over to the general government. Camp Douglas immediately became a point of national interest, and later a local menace.

Volunteers came by the hundreds, and trained and equipped regiments marched out of it to the front to fill the breaches made by Confederate guns, some never to come back. There was busy preparation on the parade ground, maneuvers and drill; much hurrahing and beating of drums and crowds of friends proud of the boys in blue, and sad farewells. With the beginning of 1862, the war cloud had spread and darkened all the country with forebodings. The sanitary commission had been formed, and every regiment that went to the front was accompanied by devoted nurses and wagons loaded with hospital stores. War assumed a grim as-

pect. John Brown's soul had taken up its march, with every blue coat that left the north.

Camp Douglas felt the change. The northern prisons were filling up, and after every Union victory a consignment of prisoners was expected. It was the largest camp of the government, except that at Fortress Monroe, but as yet was fitted up only for the accommodation of the recruits and for the Summer. There were barracks for the garrison guard, a small hospital and a supply of tents. So it was with consternation that Colonel Tucker was ordered to prepare for the reception of 9,000 prisoners, after the victory at Fort Donelson, in February of 1862. There was less than a week to do it in before the first squad arrived by way of St. Louis and the Alton Road. Another regiment came in on the Illinois Central.

The weather was bitterly cold. The winds swept across from the lake, and snow and ice lay on the ground. The camp was badly drained, and there were no hospital accommodations to speak of. The hearts of the citizens of Chicago ached with pity and sorrow, when the prisoners arrived. Thousands lined the way to see the secessionists, and the people from the two sections, who had met only on the battle field before, regarded each other curiously.

"Why, these 'rebels' are men like us," was the astonished ejaculation of many citizens. We of to-day cannot understand the hatred and fear of each other engendered by that sad strife. The northerners had expected to find in slave owners something less than human, and they saw only docile and suffering men. The southerners

met pitying looks and generous relief instead of bitter revilings. The march of four miles through sleet and snow took four hours to finish, and many a brandy flask passed the line to the suffering men without rebuke from the guard. Hot soup and coffee were ready at the camp for the half-famished men. But, alas, there were only ice-stiffened tents and hastily constructed sheds for their reception.

A more miserable looking set of men it would be difficult to imagine. Hungry, sick from exposure, sunken-eyed, many weakened by slight wounds that in a hospital would have been trivial, unsuitably clad for the climate, their misery would have touched harder hearts than those in Chicago, where suffering had never yet made its appeal in vain. Their clothes were nondescript, chiefly of half cotton butternut, no two suits alike. Their shoes were broken, and let in the icy water at every step of the march; their knapsacks were often mere bundles, and their canteens any sort of flask or pail. The poverty of the south was manifest. These men had never been properly equipped for a campaign, and imprisonment in a northern camp was equivalent to a death sentence, to a large proportion of them. It was felt at once that these men had fought, from the beginning, for a lost cause, and their devotion to it had an infinite pathos for the hardier men of the north. Yet these same men, when exchanged, did some desperate fighting.

Those of the spectators who gained an entrance to Camp Douglas had an opportunity to judge of what stuff the prisoners were made. Many were standing in

the snow shivering, their eyes burning with the fever of ague or pneumonia, many already felt the first twinges of rheumatism, or had taken a drink of the water that was to produce dysentery. Spared by the bullet, they were to succumb to the cold and strange water. But there was no craven whining. A newspaper man who circulated among them and questioned them, was treated with unfailing courtesy and good humor.

"If you were released would you fight again?" he asked of a tall Mississippian.

"When I get out of this scrape, I'll show you," the southerner replied. Alas, he never got out of that scrape. He lies under the grass at Oakwoods.

There were rough and ready Texans among the prisoners, languid Louisianians, fiery Kentuckians and Tennessee mountaineers. Their speech was a soft drawl with elisions like that of the contrabands who accompanied many of the officers, and could rarely be persuaded to leave their masters, for the doubtful advantage of freedom in this unfriendly climate. These dark-skinned children of slavery were prone to be merry over their misfortunes.

"Golly, Massa Richards," said one whose big white teeth were chattering, "who'd ever thunk we'd come to a summah resort in the winter." The master took a plaid from about his own shoulders and put it about the boy. It seemed a natural act to both, and no word passed between them any more than between a father and child. Such incidents caused the northerners to marvel. **A week later, when the officers were sent on**



CHAS. WALSH,
Brigadier General of Conspirators, Chicago, Ills.

to Columbus, Ohio, these slaves "toted" their masters' baggage through the streets without interference from an abolitionist population, so thoroughly were the prejudices of the prisoners respected.

Scarcely were the gates of Camp Douglas shut and sentinels posted on the parapet for the night, before a relief committee was being organized under the leadership of Thomas B. Bryan, and early next day a wagon load of medicines, blankets and flannels were sent to the camp and physicians and nurses volunteered their services. From that time on, relief work was active and unceasing up to the close of the war. The Chicago branch of the sanitary commission had been organized the Autumn before, with such men as Dr. Ralph N. Isham and E. W. Blatchford as leading spirits. A committee was immediately appointed to look after the strangers at Camp Douglas. A Ladies' Aid Society was formed for the same purpose among the members of Grace Episcopal Church, and John V. Farwell, as president of the northwestern branch of the Christian Commission, did effectual spiritual work. Prayers were invoked and messages sent to southern homes from the beds of the dying. Within a week much had been done for the physical comfort of the prisoners.

Barracks were going up rapidly, the hospital was enlarged and the prisoners were treated as were the Union soldiers. Full rations were given them and the sick had skilled attention. One of the leading newspapers of the city constantly urged upon the people to remember: "These men will be our countrymen

again, and a few decades will efface the memory of the conflict."

Thomas B. Bryan, in speaking of the committee he organized to care for the first prisoners received at Camp Douglas after the battle of Fort Donelson, said: "A great many prisoners taken at Fort Donelson, perhaps 8,000 or 9,000, arrived in February, 1862. Many of them were ill or suffering from wounds. The fare at the camp was, of course, not intended for invalids, and many citizens felt a great deal of sympathy for the sick prisoners who might be suffering for the want of delicacies which a prison could not be expected to furnish. I had a special interest in the men, for, although a strong Unionist, I was a Southerner by birth. A number of citizens came together to consider plans for the relief of the prisoners, and some volunteered to aid me. Later events have crowded their names from my memory, but Dr. Boone and the late Judge Higgins may have been among them. The committee was hardly an organized affair, but volunteers gave of their time as they could, and it fell to my lot, perhaps, to do more than others. I remember quite well that there was considerable fault found with some of us because we were absent so much from our offices.

"The people of Chicago had a kindly feeling for the prisoners, and the supplies which we furnished were the voluntary gifts of the citizens. I will have to admit that our gifts were not all delicacies for the sick, for tobacco was an important item among them, and it proved to be one of the most welcome, too. The committee was made up mostly of men of Southern birth,

but this relief for the prisoners was unexpected by them, and proved a most agreeable surprise. Most of the incidents of the work I have forgotten, but there remains with me a very lasting impression of the intense gratitude of the Confederates. Many of them took especial pains in thanking the committee to explain that they appreciated the motive more highly than the dainties and the tobacco.

“The erection and dedication of the monument to the Confederate dead in Oakwoods Cemetery will have a tendency to obliterate sectional feeling, and in that light is all right. Americans are never to be separated again, but are to live henceforth as brothers, and everything that will conserve fraternal feelings is to be encouraged.”

Dr. Ralph N. Isham, Sr., who had charge of the federal hospital in Chicago, recalls the arrival of the Fort Donelson prisoners at Camp Douglas by a remarkable epidemic which broke out among them. He was called to camp one day, and it was found that many hundreds of the Confederates were suffering from measles. Under ordinary circumstances it is considered something of a joke for an adult to be taken down with that infantile disease, but it was a serious affair at the war prison. It was in winter, the physical condition of the men had been impaired by the hardships of war, and a great many of the patients died of the measles.

The spirit of the citizens was commendable. Everyone responded to calls for help. One of the most significant incidents of the time, was that of a Scotch woman, a Mrs. Robb, who had three daughters serving as nurses at the front. All three died from the hard-

ships, and the mother daily collected a basket of medicines for the sick southerners at Camp Douglas.

The prisoners went to work with a will to make their quarters habitable. They dug wells and rigged up windlasses; they began on the ditches to drain the grounds, and constructed the sewer on Thirty-third street. When a wagon load of soap was received for them there began such a scrubbing and shaving as was never witnessed before. With their long hair cut, and several weeks' growth of beard removed, their appearance was greatly improved, and what with clean, warm clothing and barracks, and generous rations, their physical condition improved also. But they were less hardy than Northern men, of slighter build and narrower chest, and they readily succumbed to the climate. They made desperate efforts to keep out of the hospital, for very few ever left a sick bed but for a narrower bed at Oakwoods. The spring rains kept the ground wet and compelled the prisoners to remain in the barracks. As the weather grew warmer and the ground dried, they played ball and exercised on the parade ground.

During the long wet days in the crowded barracks there was ample opportunity for tunnelling. Several attempts were made by parties of fifty to escape, but they were invariably captured and brought back. Later the barracks were raised several feet on piles, and escape was prevented, besides making the quarters dryer and healthier.

These were busy times at Camp Douglas. Within eight months all the first consignment of prisoners had been exchanged, 30,000 troops had been equipped for

the field and 17,000 prisoners and 8,000 paroled Union soldiers had been cared for. From Cottage Grove to State street, and from Thirty-first street to Hyde Park, was now covered with tents. The way to Camp Douglas in the summer of '62 might have been traced by the clouds of dust and the procession of military wagons.

The processions did not stop at the Camp, but continued southward to the "old graveyard by the lake shore," down the Vincennes road in bad weather, or through Hyde Park. Sometimes a bluecoat, sometimes a gray, was taken to be laid in one or the other of the two plots that had been purchased by the government. Sometimes both lay in the wagon side by side, for death takes no account of clothes, or ideas, or differences.

On the whole life went on smoothly at the camp. A rumor of weapons having been obtained by the prisoners gave momentary alarm, and a few prisoners were undoubtedly assisted to escape by Southern sympathizers who had charge of the distribution of supplies sent from homes in the South. There were ominous mutterings toward the end of '63, and the lines were drawn closer about the Camp. It was felt already that the men inside had means of communication with the Sons of Liberty and Knights of the Golden Circle, and the "peace party" among the democrats began to be heard.

In May, 1864, Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet was appointed to the command of Camp Douglas. As colonel of the Twenty-first Wisconsin regiment, Col.

Sweet had been, as was thought, mortally wounded at Perryville, Kentucky, he having left an ambulance to engage in a desperate fight, where the major, three captains, and 300 men lost their lives. He himself was wounded in three places, and his elbow shattered so that it hung useless at his side. It was more than a year before he recovered. Refusing to be retired, and unfit for the field, he was sent to Camp Douglas, which was thought to be an easy post, so far from the seat of war.

Many of the older citizens of Chicago shook their heads when he arrived—a pale young man of 32, worn with long illness, his arm still painful. He was quiet and reserved, but soon gave evidence of great ability and untiring energy. From the citizens he learned of the precarious condition of Chicago and the danger that threatened it at the time of the Democratic convention to be held in July and August, when there would be an opportunity for a copperhead uprising.

Colonel Sweet quietly left his headquarters on Washington street, and removed to the camp. He had all the prisoners' barracks raised on piles, more hospitals built, and military supplies brought in. The force that he had at hand to guard the prisoners and keep peace in the city was 896 men of the Veteran Reserves. To add to the difficulty of the situation prisoners arrived every few days until there was said by one authority to have been 22,000 inside the board fence. Two more regiments were supplied, but were kept as a reserve, to be used only in an emergency. One was ninety-day troops, who left before the emergency occurred.

The prisoners began to wear a belligerent aspect, that increased as news of Union losses came. It was evident that a line of communication was established. "A Confederate prisoner who was at all tractable at this time would have to be dug out of the hospital," was said afterward by some of the Union officers.

The country was shrouded in gloom; the rebellion was as strong as ever. On every street, men who had gone to the front hale and hearty, now carried an empty sleeve or hobbled on crutches. The north had been drained of its best blood and was pale and disheartened. Women in black and half orphaned children were silent suppliants for peace, that gave the peace party an opportunity to openly demand "peace at any price." Gold was held at 285 and the credit of the nation could scarcely go lower. The foreign powers were beginning to predict the success of the rebellion and Washington was threatened. At this time Lincoln said to a citizen of Chicago, that when the rebels reached the capital they would find him at his desk and that there was a tree just outside the window.

It may be believed that Chicago was in a precarious state. There were 22,000 prisoners in Camp Douglas with an available guard of 896 men. These men must also do detective work in the city, learn the plans of the Sons of Liberty and the Knights, make arrests of dangerous characters, find and seize the stands of arms concealed in various places, and stamp out incendiarism. And all this must be done without declaring martial law or intimating in any way that trouble was expected.

A breath of suspicion that their plans were known would fan the blaze of sedition into a conflagration.

There was a vigorous party of loyal democrats who were determined to control the convention. On the other hand, the opportunity to seize Chicago and the post, release the prisoners at Camp Douglas, burn, sack and massacre and start out to harry the North, was not to be neglected by the copperheads. Canada swarmed with rebel officers ready to take command. Under cover of the immense number of strangers arriving for the convention, these were quietly smuggled in. For three years, arms and ammunition had been collecting, until it would be an easy matter to arm every released man and every recruit.

The conspiracy was brewing. The streets were filled with strangers, who wore a confident and insolent air. There were excursions out of the city, and it was learned that the pleasure seekers were Sons of Liberty and Knights of the Golden Circle, who went to a distance for rifle practice. The families of the well to do left the city, and the men remained to fight for their homes and places of business. Every store contained arms, and could be barricaded in a few minutes. "Whisperings of blood running in the streets and of lamp posts bearing black republican fruit were in the air," wrote the late William Bross long afterward. The prisoners in the camp had a silent, alert manner, as if they were waiting for something to happen. When the last of them were released at the close of the war they confessed that they had been all formed into companies and regiments and brigades, and expected officers from the South to command them.

The plan was to release the prisoners on the eve of the election, to take possession of the polls and prevent abolitionists from voting, to sack the city and then burn it, and to hang every "black republican" in it. Then with an army of at least 50,000 men and the "copperhead" uprising expected to occur all over the North, they intended to conquer the Union at one stroke and replenish the exhausted South with funds. Such was the great northwestern conspiracy, and there were less than 1,000 men under the command of a partly disabled man of 32 years to prevent the plan from being carried out.

The day of the convention dawned upon 100,000 strangers in Chicago. Every hotel was packed, and private houses were filled. Many slept on the doorsteps. All day long and for many days crowds streamed down to the temporary wigwam on Michigan avenue, and on the debates hung the fate of the city. The loyal Democrats fought in the convention and the copperheads swaggered on the streets. At night there were torchlight processions, when banners and transparencies denouncing Lincoln and his administration were freely carried. Now and then the Union detectives, in plain clothes, would come upon groups of men sending up rockets, apparently without special purpose, but, watched for an evening, it was seen that a regular code of signals was made by the colors. The guard at the camp reported that these rockets were watched by the prisoners with interest.

McClellan was nominated and the campaign begun. But the city did not clear of strangers. It was learned



COL. G. ST. LEGER GRENFELL,
Hero of the "Black Flag," Chicago Conspirator.

that Colonel St. Leger Grenfell had arrived from Canada, and was to take command of the released prisoners. Captain Hines, the hero of General Morgan's romantic escape from the Ohio prison, was also here. The attack on the camp was to be made on the west side of the "board fence," as it was contemptuously called. The rebels had a well executed map of the camp, and could have found their way in the dark as easily as a person in his own home. But there was expected to be plenty of light from firing the barracks. Simultaneously with the storming from without, the prisoners were to fall on the guard and make breaches in the wall. Fifteen minutes was expected to finish the capture of Camp Douglas.

Day after day passed in frightful anxiety. The crowds that streamed to the wigwam were honeycombed with spies, who had the signs and passwords of the Sons and Knights, and not a move was made but that the commander was in possession of the news. No arrests were made. The belligerent wing of the democrats had declared that none should be made, and with his inadequate force to quell disorder the commander thought it unwise to precipitate matters.

It was well he did. Through all the Fall a firm hand was felt to be on the helm, and there was nothing more than boasting. The plotters were astonished to learn that their plans were known and frustrated. Just before the election, Seymour and Tilden came on from New York, and the effect of their presence was felt at once. They worked with desperate energy to prevent

the hotheads from doing violent deeds that would inevitably ruin the party, and they so far prevailed that two bullies who had attacked a citizen submitted to be arrested and taken to jail. No attempt was made to rescue them by their friends. A day or two later more than a hundred other conspirators were quietly arrested and taken to Camp Douglas.

There were now some distinguished prisoners in the camp. General St. Leger Grenfell, Morgan's adjutant, who had resigned his commission in the Confederate army and gone to Canada, was the most noted one. In his company were found J. T. Shanks, an escaped prisoner of war; Captain Cantrell, of Morgan's cavalry, and Colonel Vincent Marmaduke, Charles Walsh, a general of the Sons of Liberty, and Judge Buckner S. Morris, of Chicago, were taken into custody, though Judge Morris was afterward proved to be innocent. His arrest and trial was a lasting grief to him. Twenty-seven were arrested at the Fort Donelson house, all well armed. In Walsh's house were found a large quantity of fire arms and ammunition. Notice was sent out to belligerents expected by train to return home, but some of these missed the warning and came on to Chicago, to be arrested on their arrival.

The great northwestern conspiracy was over. With the election ended and the departure of the strangers, who fled after the arrests had been made, Chicago breathed freely.

The hundred or so distinguished prisoners were taken to Cincinnati for trial. General Grenfell was executed, Charles Walsh sentenced to prison, some others ban-

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ished to the Dry Tortugas, and Judge Morris acquitted. He had simply been found in bad company. He never got over the grief of having been tried for conspiracy against the Union. His wife, who confessed to having aided prisoners to escape, was paroled.

In his report Colonel Sweet spoke of the feat performed by his small regiment of boys in blue as almost incredible. Not a blow was struck nor an incendiary fire kindled, but every plan of the conspirators was known and frustrated and every important man arrested and brought to trial. Twenty-two thousand prisoners had been kept inside the "board fence," the city had been protected and 150 arrests made by 896 men.

The pale young commander was the hero of the hour. Had the trouble that was brewing so long come to a head, the conspirators would have numbered fifty to one for every armed Union man in Chicago. The city would have been wiped out of existence, and an army let loose to fan the fires of sedition that was slumbering among Southern sympathizers all over the North. No one knows how long the war would have been prolonged in that case. During all this period the fate of the nation was trembling in the balance. Everywhere throughout the North, the "peace party" was gaining in strength.

Secretary Stanton was finding it difficult to fill the ranks decimated in frightful battles. The Union losses were severe. Grant was pounding away in the Wilderness, and Sherman was marching through Georgia, fighting every separate bone in the vertebrae of the Confederacy toward Atlanta. In that dark hour 900 men broke up the great conspiracy in Chicago.

But the pale young commander was worn out, and he resigned six weeks after testifying against the conspirators at Cincinnati. But there was little else to do.

After this brief but thrilling episode of the Summer and Fall of 1864, Camp Douglas settled down to a quiet Winter. With the close of the war, the prisoners were gradually released and given transportation to their homes. It was in the Autumn of 1865 before the place was finally dismantled and the property sold. The high board fence was removed, and Henry Graves Esq., looking across the prairie from his home, so long encompassed by war, but unscarred by the mark of a bullet, saw the country slowly change. The prairie was gradually cut into blocks, the university abandoned and demolished. Stephen A. Douglas in bronze arose and looked out over Lake Michigan.

The tide of population, setting southward, submerged the historic site and destroyed every landmark.

It flowed on and the limits of Hyde Park were obliterated, the dividing line from the city; the street-car line was extended. The tide has now reached and gone beyond the iron fence that marks the boundaries of the "old country graveyard," and the desolate spot to which 6,000 Confederate soldiers were carried in wagons over mud roads, may now be reached by three lines of rapid transit, and lies softly folded in the heart of Chicago."

The writer whom we have quoted has failed to state all the facts in relation to this period of imminent peril, and the reader is left to infer that by some

almost miraculous means the Commander of Camp Douglas became apprised by the patriotic citizens of Chicago of the terrible plot which menaced the city with ruin and the military and Union citizens with slaughter, and it is pertinent to set forth a few more essential facts in this connection.

The Treason Plot, so far as it had been brought to light in Indiana, by Gen. Carrington and others, put to rest effectually and completely whatever fears and suspicions had existed in the public mind concerning the extensive organization of traitors known as the "Order of American Knights." It was believed that the treasonable Order had been fully exposed in all its workings, and that with the arrest of a few Indiana Conspirators, ended forever this cause of national peril. In Chicago, and the great cities of Illinois, with the prevailing Union sentiments, there existed no apprehension, no suspicion of the possibility of revival of treasonable designs—not a question nor a shadow of distrust even by the most vigilant Unionist. This confidence in Chicago was alike profound with the police, the city officials, and Union organizations, the newspaper men, the people generally. So secret the movements of the treasonable Order, that it seemed impossible to learn any important fact concerning them.

For many weeks the writer of this volume endeavored in ways most expedient, to acquire reliable knowledge of the existence of the secret organization, its sinuosities and purposes, but for weeks he was unsuccessful, and yet he had traced to certain circles in Chicago, some of the leading and virulent men of Indiana known to have

been identified with the most dangerous Conspirators of their State. So subtle and so fiendish the Conspirators everywhere, it was deemed unsafe to even interrogate the police or detectives lest such inquiry might be the note of alarm which would prevent all possible clue to avenues of information, for who could be trusted! And if in Indiana the State officials, and members of the legislature were not without the very worst of traitors, how could we discriminate between the loyal and the treasonable! Enough was ascertained from the police and city officials to convince the writer, that no fears, no suspicions were entertained of hidden danger to the city of Chicago, and reference was confidently made to the Prosecuting Attorney of the city, and to Judge Morris, mentioned in these pages, and the city slept soundly in fancied security.

At length it became known beyond a peradventure or a doubt, that at that very moment there were three regiments of traitors duly organized, armed, drilled and ready for action, when the moment should come to kill; that there were sworn secret organizations in Chicago gaining in numbers daily, and that the Judge was the presiding officer of these scoundrels, and the Prosecuting Attorney was himself a member of them, and that a prominent employee in the office of the Provost Marshal of Chicago, who with Union sentiments upon his lips by day, was by night an officer of the Conspirators, and never absent from their meetings; and much more was learned of their devilish purposes and villainies, and with a brace of loaded revolvers,—his only friends—he heard and saw the demons who sought to ruin

the Country. To that moment not a word, or whisper or signal had been given by the writer of the horrid facts which he had learned. In Indiana some men in the Union army were members of the treasonable organization, and might it not be so even in the Camp in Chicago! Even the officers were to the writer unknown and none should be trusted at that moment.

Hon. W. H. Rand (later of Rand, McNally & Co. a personal friend and a man of sterling integrity and known patriotism, was cautiously and later fully admitted to the writer's confidence, and then came a feeling of partial relief from the soul-crushing anxiety that for weeks had weighed upon the writer's very heart. Mr. Rand was dazed, and seemed to question the sanity of his informant, and not until a full revelation of the knowledge gained, could he realize the awful peril of the city. Upon his full endorsement of Hon. U. S. Senator Isaac N. Arnold, the writer called on him and disclosed the startling facts. Mr. Arnold exclaimed: "Do you, sir, undertake to tell me this for truth?" And he looked upon me as if I were indeed a maniac, and hurriedly left the room, but soon returned pale and disturbed, and plied question after question with the rapidity and curtness of a lawyer to a witness suspected of lying.

"Wait a moment!" he said nervously, and began to write, then folded a letter and addressed it to Gov. Yates. "Take this I beg you sir, instantly, to the Governor at Springfield."

While Mr. Rand had been pledged to strictest secrecy, so too was Senator Arnold, and an hour

later, the writer was on his way to Springfield, and was soon in private interview with Governor Yates, who read Mr. Arnold's letter, and requested me to make my statement. I fully believe the Governor regarded the whole matter a sheer fabrication or an hallucination, and for a few moments was silent, looking upon me as an escaped lunatic. I can never relate the thoughts that flitted through my brain at that moment. I had never seen the Governor before, and the letter of U. S. Senator Arnold seemed to have little weight in endorsing me. I espied upon his breast a keystone. I had one just like it, and it proved the needful voucher. A long conversation followed, and when I left the executive mansion, I bore with me the Governor's commission and orders to report forthwith to Brig. Gen. H. E. Paine, then in command of the District of Illinois. By Gen. Paine—who also seemed to regard the duty which I had undertaken as one for the performance of which he doubted my ability. By his order I entered upon it, and made my report at first to him, till I was officially placed in relation to Col. B. J. Sweet, commander of the Post, and to him, to Gen. Paine and to Hon. Secretary of War Stanton, my despatches were delivered with promptness and with full detail, and hence it was that the "young commander" was able to take effective and timely measures to prevent the calamity which menaced the city and the nation. In evidence of which are appended letters of Mr. Rand, U. S. Senator Arnold, Governor Yates, of Brig. Gen. H. E. Paine, Col. B. J. Sweet and Post Adj. Shurley. All of which will show by what means the horror was

averted and the guilty brought to punishment.

The writer whom I have quoted was in error in saying that the death sentence of Col. G. St. Leger Grenfell was executed. At the close of the war he entered the British service in Egypt, to follow his trade of blood.

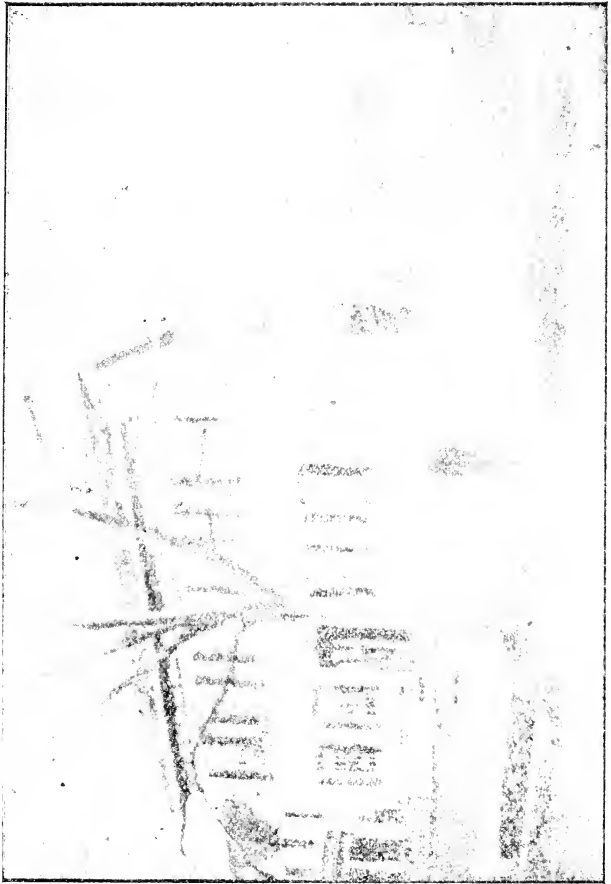
CHAPTER XXVII.

THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES—THE
COMING RACE SUPERIOR TO ANY NOW EXISTING—
PATRIOTISM—YOUNG MEN IN HISTORY—A LESSON
FOR THE TIMES.

The Race problem in this country is far more difficult to solve than in England; indeed an accurate solution is manifestly impossible until a sufficient length of time shall have elapsed to give that unity to our population which it necessarily lacks at the present time. We are not as yet one people,—we are many peoples, and all that can be done in a brief examination of our nationality, present and prospective, is to judge from the leading characteristics of the many, what the one will be when it shall arrive.

The wonderful variety of races to be found in the American Republic is an additional and far more important difficulty. No nation has ever drawn its supplies of humanity from such widely diverse sources. Egypt, at the height of her renown, was only a close corporation composed of the tribes inhabiting the lower valley of the Nile. Greece prided herself upon the practical exclusion of "outside barbarians." Rome, when the foundations of her future empire were laid, was merely a concentration and organization of the rude popular forces of Southern Italy. England is the common stock of only *five* roots, omitting the Romans from the calculation, since they were in no sense ever fixed to British soil.

In New York, Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans or St. Louis, one may meet, in a single day's walk through the streets, the representatives of more distinct races of men than make up the combined nationalities of Egypt, Greece, Rome and England. America is literally the home of all nations. The vast extent of our territory, and consequent cheapness of land; our democratic form of Government; the opportunities offered for the acquisition of wealth; and the fascination which always attaches to a new country, all unite to stimulate immigration from the four quarters of the globe. Europe, Asia and Africa contribute to the growth of America, and are severally represented in our nearly hundred millions of people. Chinese, Negroes, Hebrews, Russians, Germans, Italians, Swiss, French, Dutch, Scandinavians, Poles, Spanish, Portugese, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, English, South Sea Islanders, Mexi-



OLD HOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SPRINGFIELD, ILLS.

cans and South Americans, all meet here on the neutral ground, and are working together for the formation of *one* people, which in the near or remote future shall embrace the ruling qualities of all. Hence we find a very marked diversity of character and progress throughout the country, from the highest culture and refinement, down to the lowest condition recognized as civilization, the various nationalities severally exerting their influence upon entire communities to so great an extent, that a traveler can scarcely at all times believe himself to be in the same country in passing from State to State.

Looking over this list of nationalities, which might be made even larger than it is, we may put our fingers upon several families that are not likely to enter largely into the united American family to come hereafter, and cannot exercise any permanent influence in the moulding of the national character. Their presence among us brings some good, and some evil,—it is not needful to balance the account, but they have neither the intellectual, nor the moral elements to make an indelible mark. They are now, and perhaps always must be *foreigners*; with us, but not always of us; coloring to a certain extent our legislation, language and habits of thought; affecting more or less our industry and finance; hindering or helping our general development, but accomplishing nothing of an enduring nature,—nothing which three or five hundred years hence, will be sufficiently visible to permit the tracing back to its origin.

The America of the twenty-second century of the Christian era will be purely American *only* in its name

and physical geography. It will be Europe passed through the American crucible. The most healthy and vigorous European races will have been melted together into an Americanized race,—a race, whose European blood and brain will be stamped with innumerable peculiarities, derived from American soil, climate, scenery and institutions.

The foundation of this unity of races will doubtless be English, for while we have shaken off the political yoke of the mother country, the language, literature and best political ideas of England must always hold us nearer to the English type than to any other. The descendants of the Puritans and cavaliers who first settled Massachusetts and Virginia, cannot rid themselves of the ancestral chain which binds them to the grand little Island across the sea, and no revolution in politics, society nor religion can ever obliterate the impression made upon national manners and thought, by the strongly marked men who left home and friends to plant the seeds of English civilization and culture in the wilds of America.

Accepting the English as the fundamental type of the future nationality, what other races will probably compose the predominating part of the superstructure? The statistics of emigration furnish an answer to this interesting question. Ireland and Germany send us the most re-inforcements; and the Irish and German character has already infused itself into the American, to a much greater extent than is commonly supposed. There are more Irish in America to-day than in Ireland, and there are portions of America as German as Ger-

many; and while it is true that the Irish born in Ireland, and the Germans born in Germany, are what is called "clannish," we have only to study their children to see that their clannishness is not permanent; it wears off rapidly in the second generation, and is scarcely perceptible in the third.

In other words, the grandson of a German or Irish immigrant is, to all intents and purposes, an American, —not precisely the same sort of an American as the man of Anglo-Saxon lineage, but resembling him more closely than he does the Anglo-Saxon. Twenty generations cannot extinguish all the race instincts and ideas, but enough of them are removed in the second or third, to foreshadow the inevitable result.

It may then be safely predicted that when the amalgamation is consummated, and the unity of races an established fact, we shall have a race of Americans, in which the eye of the careful observer may detect the sturdy virtues brought from England; the thrifty economy and plain common sense brought from Germany; and the poetic imagination, matchless wit and invincible good nature brought from Ireland.

All these blended into *one*, and that one tinted, as it must be, by contact with races, smaller in numbers, and less distinct than the dominant three, will certainly produce a nationality unlike any the world has yet seen, and in very many respects superior to any now existing.

If the American Republic be true to itself, what a magnificent destiny awaits it! If false, the same influences which might have made it *great*, will not only hasten its fall, but make that fall final, complete and irretrievable ruin!

The 'love of one's Country,' always depends for its strength, ardor and endurance, upon the measure of respect which one entertains for it. The local attachments which a people may cherish for the natural features of their native land, their admiration of her scenery, their preference for her climate, or approval of her customs, do not necessarily imply any degree of patriotism, or aught, in fact, that may not co-exist with a feeling of contempt for the Country's institutions. Patriotism signifies 'love of Country—the land of one's nativity or adoption, its constitutional government, and all its aims and objects,—love for the institutions' which spring from its fostering care, respect for and trust in the rulers—the law-makers, the expounders of law, and its executors,—veneration for the fundamental principles of its laws, that confidence and fraternization which characterizes a brotherhood of intelligent beings, whose interests are identical, whose welfare, as individuals or members of the great community depends, in a good degree, upon that confidence, trust, respect and general friendly regard or affection which the people entertain for each other, and the pride which is felt in the honor, power, credit and rank of the nation, among the peoples of the earth!

With this interpretation, there is no nation on the face of the globe, among whom patriotism is generally stronger, and surely none having so much cause for cherishing the sentiment, as the people of this country; for being a great family governing itself—proposing, devising and executing its own laws, by the concurring voice of its own members, building up its own institu-

tions, revising and correcting whatever may be amiss, it would be as monstrous for an American not to love his country, as for a member of a family not to feel affection for those to whom he is most closely connected by consanguinity. The perpetuity, greatness and prosperity of the nation, depend upon the patriotism of its citizens. Just in proportion as a person loses respect for his government, and pride in her institutions, just so far will his patriotism lose in its ardor, and when he finds in his country nothing to reverence and admire, he becomes indifferent to her honor and her interests, her distinction and glory.

And this utter indifference—this total lack of patriotism, is by no means always to be regarded as proof of moral insensibility, a loss of any of the nobler impulses of the soul,—it is of itself only conclusive evidence of the most terrible misfortune, the most lamentable bereavement, the greatest loss, the deepest humiliation a person can experience. No more pitiable condition can be conceived, than an existence without a country—a sojourner, a homeless wanderer, in a strange land,—for which he has no affiliation, no love, no reverence, no respect, and in whose affairs he has, and can have, no interest, lot nor part.

A nation may become so demoralized and corrupt as to alienate the reverence and respect of its citizens.

As Americans, we glory in having a country eminently deserving of our reverence, our love, and recognize our obligations for its preservation, deeming no service too arduous, no sacrifice too great. It becomes us to guard, with jealous care, against any subtle and

dangerous agency which can possibly insinuate itself to disparage her excellence, or to detract, in any degree, from those qualities so dear to the hearts of her people, or afford justification for any lack of patriotism.

As a Nation, Americans are proud of their country's eminence—proud of having attained that eminence by a firm maintenance, for a century, of the just and vital principles upon which the government was founded. To maintain such glorious distinction, and to preserve our national institutions free from all corruption, free from stigma and dishonor, is an obligation the most sacred, the most imperative,—of the gravest importance, the magnitude of which cannot be overestimated, since, upon the fidelity of the people to the sacred trust, depends the perpetuity, prosperity and happiness of the Country.

History records the fate of nations, as proud and as promising as our own—nations distinguished, in the zenith of their glory, for whatever was worthy of the love and respect of their citizens—whose glory and greatness declined and passed away, in consequence of their own neglect and their own errors.

It becomes the people of this country always, to gravely consider the question—is there no danger of a decline—of retrograding from the proud position our nation occupies? It is morally certain, that if such danger shall ever come, it will be consequent upon our own errors and neglect. Upon the young men of America devolves the duty of guarding against such possible danger, by the intelligent and judicious exercise of powers which their country confers upon them.

The danger—if danger may be apprehended—will be far more liable to ensue from neglect, than from any other cause. The extravagance of the people and the errors incident to the times, though often the theme of political economists, are certain in this country, in time, to find their own remedy; but in this age of activity, when the universal scramble for dollars is going on, there may be danger of neglecting the national welfare, in the narrow consideration of selfish gain. There may be danger from too much confidence in the proud position and status that the country has already attained. The elective franchise of which we boast, which should be so dear to all Americans, is too cheaply held. The machinery of the government has for so long a time moved so smoothly on, that we are apt to believe it will so continue to move for all time, regardless of vigilance and effort, and there is evidently a growing indifference to this greatest of privileges. Did any exigency arise imperiling or impeding our rights of election, were the ballot box in danger, were our privileges as voters infringed upon, the alarm would be sounded in a moment, the streets would resound to the tread of citizen soldiery, and a second Washington would lead a nation of freemen to battle against the usurper's power; but though no such exigency is liable to occur, the very privilege for which we would contend as a bulwark of safety of the nation, is year by year gradually more and more neglected, and by those who profess, and doubtless in their hearts do esteem it an inestimable right. Citizens for one reason or another—often inconsiderable—waive the great privilege for years, or altogether, and neglect to cast their ballots, however important an election may

be, and surely no election ever occurs that is not of importance sufficient to demand a popular expression from all entitled to participate therein. If citizens neglect to exercise their right at the polls, and if in consequence, evil and incompetent men are elected to positions of honor and trust, and the public interest suffers thereby, the culpability of the negligent is quite as great as that of those who abuse the people's confidence,—both have been recreant to duty. Such neglect offers the most favorable opportunity to that numerous class of unprincipled men, who—in party parlance—are “ring politicians,” whose prime motive is self-aggrandizement, and whose sordid souls are utterly incapable of “love of country.” Their only ambition is the promotion of self-interest, and their highest aspirations are for attaining positions, or foisting their equally corrupt friends to places that will afford the best opportunity for plundering the public treasury.

Two classes of men never fail to present themselves at the polls—ready to vote early and to vote often—one consisting of men who have an implied understanding, or a compact with the nominees, or entertain confident expectations of selfish gains, in the event of success, and a class who are utterly incompetent to form just judgments of men or of measures, and are for sale to the highest bidder. Though we distinguish these persons as two classes, their only difference is that the former do a credit business, and the latter do not; the former rely upon assurances, and live for a time upon hope, while the latter pocket or swallow their *quid pro quo* on the spot; and for patriotism, honor, principle or decency,



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they rank so nearly alike, that it would require a nice balance to discriminate between them. The latter class do not always receive even such tangible rewards for their imbecility or villainy, but only hypocritical and hollow expressions of cordial friendship, gratifying to their vanity, and perhaps inciting hopes of advantages that are never to be realized. These base and pitiable wretches would sell their country for a "mess of pottage,"—they would barter their own mothers' graves for pieces of silver. How often these human jackals and vultures do attain their ends, is known but too well. Some of them begin their infamous work at the primary meetings, and continue it, till they finally reach the Capital, where they fatten till too plethoric to longer work, and die eating from the public crib.

The defalcations, embezzlements and other forms of larceny from the public funds are generally perpetrated by the more greedy of this contemptible class; and

Of what great use are men's ingenious locks
Upon the people's well filled money-box?
A master-piece of skill they are, no doubt,
And doubtless they would keep all burglars out,
But their great value, still we fail to see,
If Whats-their-names be trusted with a key.

Positions gained by chicanery and fraud, reflect no honor upon their possessors. They afford opportunities, it may be—more safe than most others, so it would seem, by recurring to the records of the past, but a robber is a robber, whether he be a treasurer, a government official of any grade or station, or a horse-thief, a house-breaker, a sneak-thief, or a highwayman.

As a rule aspirants for office are least deserving or

qualified for them. The best public officials our country has ever had, have been those least disposed to seek office. The same is true, not only of the national government, but of States, Cities and Towns. Partizanship and patriotism have little affiliation; a strict partizan is seldom a patriot. The axiom that the whole is greater than a part, is self-evident. A strict adherence to party tenets, tends to illiberality and bigotry, for "party," as applied to politics at least, is by no means a synonym for "principle."

The policy, which has long prevailed, of rewarding adherents of the dominant party for services in securing the election, by offices and positions of profit and responsibility, without due regard to integrity and capabilities, tends directly to the most pernicious results. —Qualifications, rather than favoritism or devotion to party, should rule in every appointment, in a country like ours, if we would not endanger that respect and reverence upon which true patriotism is based.

Barter and sale of votes, whether for cash payments —rum payments or both, or on the credit plan, is a degree of infamy as dangerous and deserving of execration, as it is universally condemned by honorable men; but as execrable as it is, it is practised in our elections, and the practice is becoming of alarming magnitude.

Is it possible to conceive of a more humiliating spectacle than of persons aspiring to be Governors, Senators, and Representatives of the American nation, toadying to besotted, ignorant wretches, pampering to their appetites, appealing to their vices for insuring their election or increasing their majorities. Are such in-

stances unknown, can they never be found, are they of rare occurrence? Let your observation at future elections supply the answer.

Public offices should never be dispensed in payment for party services or influence; they should be awarded only to the meritorious. The honor of any office within the gift of the people, is to be estimated as an expression of popular confidence. When the salary or income of an office is the prime consideration with the candidate, and when his qualifications are resolved into his capacity for intrigue and baseness, for imbibition, for liberality in dispensing bribes of whatever sort, to him or his *confreres*, coadjutors, allies, or employees in the business, we need not look for exemplars of true patriotism.

That there would be very great danger to the country from the machinations of corrupt politicians, or rather of dishonest partisans, who really know little, and care less, of "politics," in the true significance of the word—"the science of government" is beyond a question, had we not a potent safeguard, which the people are proudly conscious of possessing.

The protection consists in a never-ceasing vigilance, and a prompt and proper discharge of the duties which devolve upon all good citizens—an intelligent exercise of those powers which the government confers upon her sons for the public weal.

It is not enough to watch with eagle eye, to take an active part in the election of men, in promoting or condemning proposed measures affecting the general good—as they may seem judicious or otherwise, but there should be an intelligent exercise of these obligations,

which can only be made by those possessing requisite qualifications,—not merely those prescribed by law, but a knowledge as thorough as can be attained relative to the vital issues, the practical solution of which devolves upon citizens.

Is it to be believed that all the young men of America upon attaining the honor of participating in the affairs of the State, by casting their first ballots, are well informed upon the great questions in the decision of which they are called upon to give expression to their views and their will? The question does not concern their enthusiasm or their capacity of lungs, but their intellectual qualifications. Is there not a minority, large enough to influence an election, who are not so qualified,—who know little of the practical workings of the machinery of the government, who have not studied sufficiently the question of public finance—the resources, the revenue and the obligations of the government, or its foreign relations, who are not versed in the history—possibly the geography of the country, or who have not carefully read the provisions of its Constitution,—are there not some whose knowledge is very limited concerning even our plan of representation, and have but an imperfect conception of the duties of the officers their votes may aid to elect? Is there nothing of all this upon which they are not duly advised?—Are there not voters who have long shared in all the rights and benefits of American citizenship, who are also wanting in like qualifications? And are they seeking,—if such there be, the information which will enable them to interpose effective barriers against evil in whatever form it may ever threaten?

Never since the foundation of our government—if we read American history aright and judge, with that candor which is consistent with a love of country—has there existed a greater necessity for vigilance, or for more prudent legislation and administration,—hence eminent qualifications upon the part of rulers and people, than at the present day; never has there been an opportunity when evil men in authority could work greater injury to the country, or when there was a greater need of a general and true patriotism.

The obligations of all, enjoying the inestimable rights of citizens, are no less weighty and binding now, than they were upon the noble founders and defenders of our liberties, who have passed away, and to whose glorious records we turn with pride, therein to find an exemplification of that true patriotic ardor which every free man should possess. As we look back through the long vista of years upon the times and the men, we find the luster of their fame untarnished,—their wisdom confirmed, and we revere their memories—the hallowed memories of patriots, to whom party and power and the emoluments of office were nothing, to whom their country, her good, her honor, her greatness and her glory, was everything.

“History,” says E. P. Whipple in discoursing of “Young Men in History,” “is an imperfect record of nations and races, diverse in their position and capacities, but identical in nature and one in destiny. Viewed comprehensively, its individuals and events comprise the incidents of an uncompleted biography of man, a biography long, obscure, full of puzzling facts

for thought to interpret, and more puzzling breaks for thought to bridge, but on the whole, exhibiting man as moving and man as moving forward. If we scrutinize the character of this progress, we shall find that the forces which propel society in the direction of improvement, and the ideas we form of the nature of that improvement, are the forces and ideas of youth. The world, indeed, moves under the impulses of youth to realize the ideals of youth. It has youth for its beginning and youth for its end; for youth is alive, and progress is but the movement of life to attain fuller, higher, and more vivid life.

Youth, too, is nearer to those celestial fountains of existence whence inspirations pour into the heart and light streams into the brain. Indeed, all the qualities which constitute the life of the soul, and which preserve in vigor and health even the practical faculties of the mind,—freshness, ardor, generosity,—love, hope, faith, courage, cheer,—all these youth feels stirring and burning in its own breast, and aches to see fulfilled in the common experience of the race.

In passing from the field of battle to the field of politics, from young men as warriors, to young men as statesmen, we must bear in mind that high political station, unless a man is born to it, is rarely reached by political genius, until political genius has been tried by years and tested by events. At the time Mr. Calhoun's influence was greatest, at the time it was said that "when he took snuff all South Carolina sneezed," he was really not so great a man as when he was struggling for eminence.

Statesmen are thus forces long before they are leaders of party, prime-ministers, and presidents; and are not the energies employed in preparing the way for new laws and new policies of more historic significance than the mere outward form of their enactment and inauguration?

But it is not so much by eminent examples of young statesmen, as it is by the general influence of young men in resisting the corrupting tendencies of politics, that their influence in the social state is to be measured. They oppose the tendency of political life to deprave political character, to make it cold, false, selfish, distrustful, abandoned to the greed of power and the greed of gain. They interfere with the projects of those venerable politicians who are continually appealing to the public to surrender, bit by bit, its humanity, its morality, its Christianity, for what are ludicrously misnamed practical advantages, and who slowly sap the moral vitality of a people through an insinuating appeal to their temporary interests.

The heart of a nation may be eaten out by this process, without its losing any external signs of prosperity and strength; but the process itself is resisted, and the nation kept alive and impelled forward, by the purifying, though disturbing forces, which come from the generous sentiments and fervid aspirations of youth.

And in the baptism of fire and blood through which our politics are passing to their purification, who can fitly estimate our indebtedness to the young men who are now making American history the history of so much ardent patriotism and heroic achievement?

When the civilization of the country prepared to engage in a death-grapple with its barbarism,—when the most beneficent of all governments was threatened by the basest of all conspiracies, the most infamous of all treasons, the most thievish of all rebellions, — and when that government was sustained by the most glorious uprising that ever surged up from the heart of a great people, to defend the cause of liberty and honesty and law,—did not the hot tide of that universal patriotism sparkle and seethe and glow with special intensity in the breasts of our young men?

Did you ever hear from them that contentment was Christian peace? Did not meanness, falsehood, fraud, tyranny, treason, find in them not apologetic critics, but terrible and full armed foes? Transient defeat,—what did it but add new fiery stimulants to energies bent on ultimate triumph?

To hint to them that Davis would succeed, was not only recreancy to freedom, but blasphemy against God! Better, to their impassioned patriotism, that their blood should be poured forth in an unstinted stream,—better that they, and all of us, should be pushed into that ocean whose astonished waves first felt the keel of the *Mayflower*; as she bore her precious freight to Plymouth Rock,—than that America should consent to be under the insolent domination of a perjured horde of slave holders and liberticides! But that consent could never be extorted. Minds, like theirs, which had been nurtured on the principles of constitutional freedom,—hearts, like theirs, which had caught inspiration from the heroes and martyrs of liberty,—good right arms,

like theirs, which wielded the implements of war as readily as the implements of labor, all scouted the very thought of such unutterable abasement. By the patriotism which abhors treason, by the fortitude which endures privation, by the intrepidity which faces death, they proved themselves worthy of the great continent they inhabit by showing themselves capable of upholding the principles it represents.

But the question arises, Cannot this youth be preserved, or, at least, perpetually renewed? We have seen, in this rapid glance at history, that it is preserved as long as the mind retains its hold on the life of things; and we have seen, both in men of action and in men of meditation, this hold weakened by age.

But would it be weakened, if the loftiest meditation issued in deeds instead of thoughts? Would youth depart, if the will acted on the same high level that the mind conceived? This, also, is a question which has been historically answered. It has been answered by heroes, reformers, saints, and martyrs,—by men who have demonstrated, that, the higher life, the more distant the approaches of age,—by men whose souls on earth have glanced into that region of spiritual ideas and spiritual persons where youth is perpetual, where ecstasy is no transient mood, but a permanent condition, and where dwell the awful forces which radiate immortal life into the will."

When another century shall have rolled away, and the events of to-day shall be recorded with impartial hand, will the deeds and the words of this age continue to verify the confident hopes and reasonable expecta-

tions of those who gave to us the priceless boon to enjoy and to transmit? It is for us, for our children, and for those who may follow them to determine. If to be a Roman Senator was to be greater than a King, to be an American citizen with the powers and heart he should possess, is to be greater than "the noblest Roman of them all."



LIEUTENANT GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD, U. S. A.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ARE THE AMERICANS TRUE TO THEMSELVES—
NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS—OUR NATIONAL
STANDARD OF EXCELLENCE—BRAIN POWER A
PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL—ACTIVE AGENCIES OF
EVIL IN THIS COUNTRY—INHERENT ELEMENTS
OF SAFETY OR OF DESTRUCTION—THE GREAT
EVILS ADVERSE TO THE HIGHEST EXCELLENCE—
INDIA RUBBER ETHICS, AND ERRORS IN POLITI-
CAL ECONOMY—WHAT OF THE TWENTIETH CEN-
TURY? — THE REFORMS, QUALIFICATIONS AND
ATTAINMENTS INDISPENSABLE TO THE WELFARE
OF THE NATION.

Are the Americans true to themselves? What conditions will insure the glorious conditions we invoke?

These questions, of gravest importance, require for proper discussion far more space than is afforded within the limits to which it must be confined.

To an American, what a magnificent picture is the

map of his country! Railroads and canals look like a delicate net-work spread over its eastern half, and with its lines of telegraph and telephones, it realizes the perfect ideal of internal communication. Side by side with the mighty workshops of this region, stand the school, the college, and the church. The resources of this district are almost infinite. Population clusters and grows dense here. Wealth flows into it. It is the great productive garden of the world. While below the surface wealth lies inexhaustible, treasures most valuable to man.

To gain an adequate idea of the vast regions of the West, we must consider that England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, together, do not equal in extent the Territory of Montana; that the whole German Empire is not so vast as the single State of Texas; that our Western Territories are severally larger than all New England!

“Young America outstrips the poet’s flying horse, scales the summit of Olympus, besieges the throne of Jupiter, defies his thunderbolts, spikes his thunder-cannon and bears away his faithful lightning as a present to mankind, to become a scientific international football. Franklin lassoed the lightning-steed with his kite string, and brought it down to earth, where it stood wild and prancing and unbroken to harness, till Morse with his wires and his batteries, harnessed it to the telegraph, to flash our thoughts across the continent—over rivers and mountains and all terrestrial obstacles. When rolling billows refuse him the right of way on which to plant his poles, he applies to Neptune and lays his submarine

cable in depths beyond the sporting ground of whales, undisturbed by storms and waves, and bids his lightning-steed plunge to rise on the other shore with messages from man to man."

Radicalism and progress are the order of the day. Enterprise, energy, ambition, quickness of perception and rapidity of execution, are distinguishing traits of the American character. These qualities are so eminently contagious that immigrants landing upon our shores scarcely feel the solid earth beneath their feet, ere they participate to the fullest extent in the bustling activity of our people.

A great city is laid in ashes, and a twelve month is ample time with us for its reconstruction upon a grander scale than before. An exploring party determines the site for a settlement, and a few months later, a corner lot in the *city* that springs up as by magic is a fortune to the holder. Americans find Uncle Sam's dominions too small for so fast a people. Not content with a continent extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, even after crowding, "Lo, the poor Indian," as far toward the setting sun as possible, we are considering the purchase of other lands and to provide for future contingencies sometimes send out parties to prospect about the North Pole. Ours is an age when the machinery of business and of life whirls with such swift and giddy motion, that old-fashioned men declare with 'bated breath—"If we do not put down the brakes, we will run the train straight to perdition!"

The only conservative element in this country comes to us in immigration from the more phlegmatic nations

of Europe, but even the sturdy German, who was never known to hurry at home, soon assimilates with the people here, and in early time becomes as fast as any of them, and proclaims his motto—"Every mon for mineself!"

The jolly, brawny Irishman clambers over the vessel's side, with all his earthly treasures in a pack, pendant from his stick, upon his shoulder. He makes his way still further westward, to build our railroads, and to earn the wherewithal to bring "the ould mither, an' the childer" from their wretched home across the sea, to this great land of liberty and plenty.

Then comes bluff John Bull, with ruddy face, broad shoulders and capacious chest, to this "blarsted country." Here he builds a "little 'ouse," marries a fair Yankee maid, and though in after years this country is not to him just like "merrie Hingland," yet when the little Johnnies come, he joins them on our natal day in their hurrahs for Yankee Doodle!

Immigrants by thousands are every year hastening to our shores to share the benefits awaiting them; and still in the East, and over the "sea," millions of hands want acres—here millions of acres want hands."

To make all our enterprises, investments and undertakings "pay" immediately and largely, the most strenuous efforts are directed. With money-making and multifarious causes of excitement, the people are pushing onward with increasing velocity, seldom pausing to consider the consequences of their haste, either as affecting themselves or future generations.

Our national standard of excellence, in all the avoca-

tions of life, is not only as high as that of any nation in the world, and above that of many distinguished for their culture, for their encouragement of the arts, and for their valuable contributions to the wants of men by mechanism and productions, but we indulge in a warrantable national pride in the consciousness that Americans are making still greater advancement, and that the attainments which a few years ago were ample for securing eminence in science and art, are now but the ordinary requirements for average respectability.

The appreciation of American inventions is no less abroad than at home. A want is scarcely experienced that is not promptly met with the very mechanism best adapted to its satisfaction. All in art that man has done worth the doing, Americans will do, and the limitation of their inventions will be the ample supply of everything suggested by the wants of men. Scientists are pursuing their investigations untrammelled by the theories of the past, and the grandest discoveries in science follow each other so rapidly that the world is no longer startled by their magnitude, and is slow to pronounce any achievement proposed by rational men an impossibility.

Delightful is the office of him who tells only of the greatness and excellence of his people; but his the office of the indiscriminating and bountiful steward who receives the golden harvest and rewards the husbandmen alike—the diligent and the slothful.

Delighted with the thrifty yield,
Unmindful of the barren field—
The thistles and the tares—
What is delights, what might have been
He neither knows nor cares.

Brain power is a productive capital. All men ultimately find their level. Of those who start out together in the race some become famous, some become infamous, while many others remain or sink to nonentities. Every man has his fort if he only knows how to hold it.

The facilities for a thorough education are so abundant in this country, that it is little short of culpability to be in ignorance. An ignorant man or woman under fifty years of age, born and residing in the United States is an idler, undeserving the privileges of our free and noble institutions. Here where there are free schools and libraries, and books are as plentiful as the leaves of Autumn, and almost as cheap, and where journals are encyclopedias of useful knowledge can always be obtained for the merest trifle, there is no excuse for ignorance save for the blind and deaf, if indeed for them. A professional man who is an Ignoramus never takes a dollar for his services that he is not morally guilty of obtaining money by false pretense.

With so glorious a country, so favored of heaven, with such eminence won and attainable in all that gives character, dignity and power to a nation, and pre-eminence to the American Union, the inquiry is pertinent and especially so at the present time—are there not in this country adverse agencies and influences at work with potency and activity—are there not conditions existing and developing which menace the well being of the great community, and tend to retard the attainment of the grand possibilities of the nation?

The thunders of the Revolution announced to mon-

archical Europe the birth of Freedom in the new world, —a new era in the great world's history; and then began an evolution for humanity, which has made advancement to the present hour, with marvellous gradations of which the old world had never dreamed, and insured for American institutions that perpetuity which cannot be abridged by any foreign power.

Within itself are the elements of safety and security from whatever shocks from without, and yet within itself, by perversion of its powers, may be effective agencies of its own destruction. Great political crimes originate in secret organizations where crime is taught as a virtue, and only secrecy is held sacred. The part of wisdom is to suppress the first utterance of sedition as effectually and promptly as riotous acts. It is the spark that kindles the conflagration. The hordes of Europe who come to our shores imbued with ideas antagonistic to American institutions and with a false idea of "liberty" should receive instruction, and by object lessons, if needful, be required to promptly conform to the laws of the land.

There is an underlying sense of right and justice in the American people higher than all human law—that innate consciousness of right and wrong planted in the heart by the Almighty and fostered by a century of progress; and this higher law is more mighty than dynamite or any destructive agency wielded by barbarians claiming to be civilizers. It is the highest Court of appeal whose judgments seldom err, and upon this higher law may be safely based hopes of the brilliant future of our country. If conditions arise for which

adequate provisions do not exist, in the sovereign people is vested the power to secure even handed justice to all.

It is not from foreign powers that great danger to the Republic need be apprehended, but to internal agencies of evil must our vigilance be ever especially directed. The great evils adverse to the highest excellence,—far reaching evils subversive in tendency to Republican institutions—are in a very notable degree, the vices prevalent among the people, prominent of which is *Avarice*—the eager desire for great and immediate gain, and possession of inordinate wealth. It is productive of a multiplicity of evils of the most damaging and destructive type, both as affecting the individual and the community.

It is adverse to noble aspirations. It tends to dishonorable dealing, and not only to dishonesty in all its phases, but to the oppression of men. It demands *blood*, when God requires only the sweat of the brow. It bargains for *brain*, for *sinews and muscle*, giving in exchange and grudgingly, only husks to keep the human mechanism in working order. It causes to the operative, deprivation of agencies and conditions essential to healthful life and happiness. When he reads in Holy Writ "The laborer is worthy of his hire," "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof;" and begins to ponder on the meaning, Hon. Avaricious Moneybags, the "Hard shell" points to the words of easy comprehension—"Didst not thou agree with me for a penny!"

It reaches out to families—wives and children, with pale faces and of feeble health; and clutches them with its

brazen claws, and shrieks to them—"Ye shall not have homes, nor luxuries, nor comforts of life, for the cost of these shall go to fill my coffers!"

It makes bad citizens—debtors who cannot pay their honest dues. It disfranchises men, or what is worse, deprives them of opportunities for acquiring information requisite for intelligent franchise. It tends to the creation of castes hostile to each other, till man looks upon his fellow man with hatred; and the land of plenty—the land of freedom becomes but a myth or region to millions inaccessible. Avarice is indeed a subtle, dangerous foe to American institutions!

In this fast age with all our legislation, when mortality is made subservient to self-interest, and there are so many opportunities for fraud and dishonest and dishonorable dealing—with such defects and anomalies in our statutes and india rubber ethics that too generally prevail, many men in all professions and callings acquire wealth and ephemeral distinction who are far more deserving of the penitentiary and who are utterly wanting in ability to cope with their honest neighbors who make less haste to acquire riches.

To ape the rich, men, and women too, not only expend their hard earnings to the uttermost farthing, but mortgage their future years, or sell themselves into slavery for life—the worst of bondage, that of debt, and with the trappings of wealth, at which, knowing all, old Shylock laughs, they stint and starve, concealed from public view, or steal, calling the theft by the milder name of *debt*; and otherwise plunge into crime and guilt beyond hope of restitution or restoration, and this

fearful price for show and sham—for seeming what they are not.

Many an aspirant for great and sudden wealth woos Fortune in markets where men buy and sell whole warehouses of grain, or the season's produce, who have not grain of any kind enough to make a mouse a breakfast. With sales and purchases "long" and "short," with "margins" and balances against him, at last the avaricious wretch goes under; and having lost his all, he appropriates the property of his neighbor, and

Both sink beneath the tide,
Of fitful markets' fluctuation;
Or to avert such degradation
He tries some other speculation,
And failing, in his desperation,
Ends all in suicide.

When avarice becomes a ruling passion and thoughts are mainly directed to money-getting; when our acts and offices in relation to our fellow men are all measured by prospective profits that may accrue to us, the mind becomes incapacitated for noble pursuits, usefulness becomes limited, the heart becomes sordid and mercenary and incapable of great enjoyment.

Justice Brown, of the United States Supreme Court, in an address upon the dangers of the Twentieth Century, presents views of the greatest interest and value, regarding certain vital questions of the day, which have so direct a bearing upon the subject under discussion that a few extracts of the address are here presented.

"There are certain secondary effects which have become apparent within the last third of a century which threaten not only to affect the political future of

every State, but also to revolutionize the entire productive industry of the world. They may be summed up in the one word "consolidation." The small States are absorbed by the great ones. Many small enterprises are replaced by a few large ones. Great corporations monopolize the production of all the comforts, and many of the necessities of life. The small employer is disappearing.

"The processes of combination, have not only put practically the entire manufacturing industry of the Country into the hands of corporations, but have enabled the latter to put an end to competition among themselves by the creation of trusts. On the other hand, labor is gradually consolidating, with the avowed purpose of dictating the terms upon which the productive and transportation industry of the country shall be carried on. The reconciliation of this strife between capital and labor, if possible, is the great problem of the coming century.

"I do not believe the solution lies in the triumph of Socialism and the distinction of private property, but there may be a gradual enlargement of the functions of Government, and the ultimate control of national monopolies. I can see no sound reason why the Government may not own railroads as well as highways, and why a city may not run street railways, gas works, etc.

"But, while I have no doubt of the ultimate settlement of these social problems, I see certain perils which menace the immediate future of the Country, and even threaten the stability of its institutions. They are

Municipal misgovernment, Corporate greed, and the tyranny of labor. Concerning the first of these I have nothing to say that has not been said before, nor do I suggest a remedy, except that if universal suffrage fails and we cannot have government by the whole people, let us have government by the better class and not by the worst.

“Corporations within their proper sphere are a blessing, but corporate powers have too often been grossly abused. Worse than this, however, is the combination of corporations in trusts to limit production, stifle competition, and monopolize the necessities of life.

“If no student can light his lamp without paying tribute to one company; if no housekeeper can buy a pound of meat or of sugar without swelling the receipts of two or three all-prevailing trusts—what is to prevent the entire productive industry of the country becoming ultimately absorbed by a hundred gigantic corporations?

“But the most immediate danger, is the tyranny of labor. It arises from the apparent inability of the laboring man to perceive that the rights he exacts, he must also concede. If, for instance, an employer of labor should discharge an employe, or refuse to hire him because of a difference between them as to wages, and should then forbid his obtaining employment elsewhere, and should assault the person and burn the property of anyone who proposed to give him work, he would naturally be considered a fit subject for mental treatment; yet a year never passes in which outrages of this description are not perpetrated under the name of “rights of labor.” Men are harried, assaulted, and stoned simply because

they are willing to work for less than their assailants, while property is burned, public travel arrested, and large cities reduced to hunger, that great corporations may be compelled to employ workmen at wages fixed by themselves. This, too, in a nominally free country.'

Such conditions the justice says are intolerable. And yet he does not think the outlook for a permanent peace between capital and labor an encouraging one, though he thinks a compromise may be effected on the basis of profit-sharing.

But in spite of these threatening dangers, Justice Brown says, that "So long as we can preserve the purity of our courts, we need never despair of the Republic.

Availability is the political watchword. High intelligence, high moral principle, true patriotism and true independence of character are qualities too seldom found united in the men who compose our National, State or City Councils. The ruling elements of political success in these days seem to be coal-oil, gunpowder, whisky and the drum! If we would not degrade the country patriots, statesmen and heroes have loved, if we would not have Lilliputians stand where giants have stood, if we would not have inferiority, ignorance, and corruption a lasting stigma upon our national honor, the people must work the grand reforms of the evils of our fast age, and this can only be done, so far as relates to governmental policy, by an intelligent exercise of the privileges and duties of citizenship.

Is not the lesson of the hour that he who best plays the deceiver's part is most sure of winning fame and fortune? Is not human life in America cheaply held?

Are not the habits of the age tending to lax morality, to irreverence for religion, to disregard of the courtesies and social amenities of life? What a lesson for the youth of today! What its influence upon the future generations!

“Too steep the gradients of this headlong age—
Too sharp its curves for safety or for strength;
Too swift the motion, and too reckless the laws of life!”

Purity of life in every relation is of prime importance in the character of any man. Without it, genius, learning, wit, eloquence and cultivation are worse than in vain. The people must cease to undervalue the worth of moral excellence and virtue, and learn to consider that the want of these cannot be compensated for by genius, however brilliant, by learning however extensive, nor by any advantages, however fascinating and valuable in themselves, which either the bounty of Nature, the power of industry, or the most accomplished education can bestow.

By such reforms, qualifications and attainments as have been indicated, while we become most useful, we secure for ourselves the true and rational pleasures of life, transmit to our children a worthy example, and leave for future ages, the glorious record that though we had not sought to conquer other nations, nor make conquests of other lands, we had learned to govern ourselves wisely and well, both as a body politic, and as individuals; and had discovered the art of more worth than any other—the art of eliminating happiness independent of riches. With these conditions established, the Republic will be true to itself, and the glorious destiny will be assured. With these requirements an-

swered, Americans will create memorials more lasting than the Coliseum of Rome, or the Pyramids of Egypt, and establish a record for the highest civilization, for the noblest humanity that shall emblazon the pages of history, even when the proud works of man, that for centuries have caused the world to wonder shall have fallen and crumbled into dust. When the glory of Europe's proudest monarchies shall have paled in freedom's holy light, the glory of America will live and brighten with the suns of centuries till its splendor shall illuminate the world!



THOMAS G. LAWLER, Commander-in-Chief, G. A. R.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC—LIEUT. GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD, U. S. ARMY,—HIS DISTINGUISHED MILITARY RECORD—MAJ. GENERAL FRANZ SIGEL—THE NATION'S HONORED DEAD.

The picture presented in former pages, has in the main been dark, terrible. The phantoms of Treason, of Murder, and other crimes that follow in their train, have flitted about the seething cauldron preparing the hell broth, at times seen by lurid light, amid the clouds of blackness and of horror. Loyal hearts have been saddened and sickened and made weary with deeds so horrible and fiendish, that apology for them, however faint, would be imbecility or treason—deeds that constitute diabolism, and which charity would fain regard as insanity and the fury of fanaticism. From such darkness and gloom, we turn with grateful heart, to a picture of beauty, of glory; from beings who plotted only evil and sought by every means to execute the dark designs of their disordered brains and their depraved and corrupt souls, who would destroy our country, we turn

to scenes of brightness, where the actors are ruled by patriotism, humanity and valor, and impelled by the noblest, highest motives—to save to rescue and restore, to ennoble, to re-unite and so shed a halo of glory upon the land redeemed, so late reddened by the life blood of the brave. And with the grandeur and glory, prosperity and power, hope and happiness won by their valor, and forever assured, we feel that the past has its lesson, the present peace, plenty and the elements of true greatness, and the future its hope.

OBJECTS AND WORK OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC.

1. To preserve and strengthen those kind and fraternal feelings which bind together the soldiers, sailors and marines who united to suppress the late rebellion, and to perpetuate the memory and history of the dead.
2. To assist such former comrades in arms as need help and protection, and to extend needful aid to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen.
3. To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America, based upon a paramount respect for, and fidelity to its Constitution and Laws; to discountenance whatever tends to weaken loyalty, incites to insurrection, treason or rebellion, or in any manner impairs the efficiency and permanency of our free institutions; and to encourage the spread of universal liberty, equal rights and justice to all men.

SONS OF VETERANS.

From the address of Gen. J. B. Adams, Past-Commander-in-Chief G. A. R. we extract the following paragraphs in relation to the Sons of Veterans:

“Upon assuming command of our Order, I began to look around for the best methods of strength. I saw that our Comrades were growing old and that the time was not far distant when all public exercises carried on by us must either be given up, or transferred to others. I saw this body of earnest young men organized to help us, yet not called, as in my opinion they should be, into active service. * * * During the year, I have met them everywhere, working to assist Departments and Posts, and believe in them we have an organization that will carry on our work when we lay it down. * * * I believe the Grand Army of the Republic should cease to exist, and live only in history, when the last comrade is mustered out, but our principles must live forever.

To conscientiously obey the laws of the land, encourage honesty and purity in public affairs, and to defend the flag of the nation, as the emblem of equal rights and national unity, is a work that any organization might be dedicated to; and to whom better can we leave this sacred trust than to our Sons? Many have heard the story of the war from their fathers, and many, alas, have no fathers to tell the story, but they can remember during those terrible days, how they knelt at their mother's knee and offered up their prayer for father, and that the news came that father would never return. From that hour they learned to love the Union



MAJOR GENERAL FRANZ SIGEL.

for which their father fought; and this love should be organized, crystalized and encouraged in every possible way. God alone knows how soon the nation will require men to stand where we stood only thirty years ago. All indications point to the fact that we are drifting from the landmarks of our fathers. As never before, has this government of the people, by the people, and for the people been tested. The ballot box, and not the torch, must be the means used to right the wrongs of the American citizen.

The Sons of Veterans are as loyal and true, as were their fathers, and should the country require their services they would respond as promptly to the call to arms. As our ranks grow thinner, let us urge them to strengthen theirs, so that this nation will ever have a reserve force of loyal men organized and officered as our Order has been, ready as are we to march in support of the constituted authorities of the United States whenever the services of the volunteer are required.

Since we broke ranks after the victory at Appomattox, and returned to the pursuits of civil life, the condition of our country has changed. We have seen our population doubled. Our prosperity has brought to our shores large numbers of men who understand little of a government by the people. While we welcome all who intend to unite with us as American Citizens, uphold our Constitution and obey the laws of our land, we have no room for those whose only desire is to destroy what has been secured by the blood and treasure of our people. The work of the Union soldiers and sailors did not end when the war closed—it only began.

Organized as we are into Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, we have kept the camp-fires of loyalty burning brightly all over our land.

They must not be allowed to go out, or grow dim. "Remembering always that by eternal vigilance alone can National Liberty be maintained," we must constantly be "on guard."

While our age is such that we could perform little active service, we are still young enough to protect property and support the constituted authorities in enforcing obedience to law. The past year has been one of anxiety. At one time the National Guards of five States of our Union were under arms, and the Regular Army called to service. I made no tender of service of our Order to the President of the United States, and issued no call to my comrades; yet my ear was to the ground, and my eye along the horizon. Had the men on duty been unable to restore law and order, I should have called on the Grand Army of the Republic, and am confident that every comrade able to bear arms would have responded.

We cannot too highly compliment the volunteer militia for their prompt response to the call, and the faithful manner in which their duty was discharged. It tells us that patriotism is not dead in the hearts of the American people, and that the young men of today are as loyal as were we. In every way possible should we encourage this spirit. Visit the armories of our National Guards, encourage the best class of young men to join their ranks, invite them to our camp-fires and our Memorial Day services. Assure them that the soldiers

that were, are in full sympathy with the soldiers that are, and will support them in the discharge of their duties to the fullest extent.

The Grand Army of the Republic was built on such a strong foundation that few changes in its construction are required. Our principles of Fraternity, Charity and Loyalty are known to all, and our fidelity to them for twenty-eight years has been such that we can take a just pride in our Order. * * * It is not the officers alone that make the Grand Army so successful; it has been and is largely the work of the individual comrades of the Posts—the men who never find the night too dark or the road too rough to prevent them visiting a comrade in distress, who on local committees have worked day and night without compensation or hope of reward. It is this that has made our Order loved, honored and respected by all loyal people.

As our members grow less, may our love increase. Be true to the principles of the Order. Keep sacred the memory of our dead, stand loyally for the interests of the living, and above and beyond all, see to it that the flag we love so well, and followed so long, is not trailed in the dust; that the four hundred thousand of our comrades whose blood moistened the ground, and whose graves dot the surface of six hundred battle-fields, that lie on the hills and in the valleys and by the streams all over the South, may not have died in vain. Place the flag higher and higher, until its stars mingle with those in the heavens, and its stripes can be seen by all the world, telling that it is the emblem of equal rights and National unity, saved and made purer and brighter by the loyalty and devotion of its defenders."

SIGNIFICANT FACTS RELATING TO THE GRAND
ARMY.

The following gleanings from the official report of the Inspector General G. A. R. (1894) here presented, are both significant and intensely interesting:

There are in the Department of CALIFORNIA and NEVADA 116 Posts consisting of 6,200 comrades. The department extends over a very large territory, including the State of Nevada, and one Post at Honolulu. Nearly all the comrades of the latter Post are in the Hawaiian Army. "We have a State Soldiers' Home at Yountville, Napa county, with 500 inmates; also a branch of the National Soldiers' Home at Santa Monica with about 1,200 inmates. There is a State law providing for indigent soldiers' and sailors' burials.

COLORADO AND WYOMING—"This department embraces a vast territory, it being fourteen hundred miles from Post 89, located at Cortez, Colo., to Post 62, at Sundance, Wyo. The other eighty Posts are scattered over this large expanse of country; many so remote from railroads that officers and members of Posts, as well as officials of the National and Department organizations, are unable to give personal encouragement or to partake of that inspiration that the touch of elbow—the whispered pass-word—the lining-up at three taps—and the personal contact always gives. The general business depression of the country has left its mark upon the department. Many soldiers, loyal and true, have been unable to pay their dues and have therefore been dropped from the rolls of the Posts.

FLORIDA—The Department is at a higher point of



Yours truly
W. E. F. Wilburn

Past Department Commander, G. A. R., Department of Tennessee.

prosperity than it has ever been. The same true spirit of loyalty to the Union and our flag can be found throughout the Department to-day that led to final victory and a re-united country in 1865.

IDAHO—In this Department, with its 16 Posts, the reports are cheering. "In the matter of the Soldiers' Home we have done well. Good and commodious grounds have been secured and the Home located near Boise City, the foundation erected and the corner-stone laid with imposing ceremonies suited to the occasion; and by October next we hope to have the work done, the building completed and ready for occupancy, not in name alone but in fact: a building that shall be a credit to the city whose people aided us so liberally in securing the grounds, and an honor to the State that has shown such high regard for the welfare of the veteran who taught the world that "Liberty must and shall be preserved."

INDIANA—The total members of the Department (June 30, 1894) 23,328. "There are more old soldiers outside of the Grand Army of the Republic than inside." The "State Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home" is situated at Knightstown. It was organized by the soldiers immediately after the war, by their own private contributions. It is now the pride of the Hoosier State and the Hoosier soldier. Its affairs are conducted by intelligent, cultured and patriotic men and women. Some 600 wards of the Grand Army of the Republic are here cared for and educated, and fitted for lives of usefulness and patriotism.

The "Soldiers' Monument" well shows that the 208,367 Hoosiers who so nobly responded to the call of our war Governor, O. P. Morton, are not forgotten. Although the soldiers need no monument to perpetuate their virtues, yet the grateful people of this commonwealth have erected one of the most grand and beautiful shafts, as a tribute to their valor and heroism: to commemorate the sacrifices of those living, and the glory of the 24,416 who did not return—who died that the nation might live. This beautiful monument of stone and bronze and marble was only constructed after the leading artists of the world had submitted their designs, and the Legislature of the State had appropriated \$200,000, which with funds on hand was equal to one dollar for every man who enlisted in the Grand Army, who have fought, bled and died for liberty.

The shaft towers high above all surroundings at the center of the Capital City, Indianapolis, and is now nearing completion. Every living Hoosier soldier can look upon this beautiful column and say, "It is for me." And the father or mother, the brother or sister, the widow, son or daughter of our departed comrade, can look upon it and say, "It is for him." Every Indiana Union Soldier, living or dead, is represented in that monument.

IOWA—In this Department, which is in a flourishing condition, there are also 243 Corps with a membership of 8,394 noble women who have afforded the most material aid to the Department. The Soldiers' Home located at Marshalltown is a beautiful place with health-

ful surroundings, a careful and efficient Commander, and equipped with nearly everything that a grateful State can furnish, will soon be an ideal Home, where the disabled veteran may wait for last "Taps" to sound. Everything has promise of reaching perfection in the near future.

The cottages are a pleasant and satisfactory department of the institution, as under this cottage system the aged veteran may bring his equally aged wife; and there, surrounded by the comforts of a family home, they may end their days together.

The soldier's widow in Iowa has not been forgotten. Our Legislature appropriated \$8,000 for the purpose of building a dormitory for the widows of veterans; and very soon they too may exchange the cold comfort of a destitute house or a county poor-farm for the kindly care and protection of a grateful State."

MASSACHUSETTS—"It is with a feeling of just pride that I can officially state the Order was never in better condition financially, never more enthusiasm in the morale and spirit that warms the hearts of all the comrades of the two hundred and ten Posts of this department, than at the present moment; and as we are gradually nearing our last camping ground, the touch of elbow is a little nearer and closer than in years past, simply showing we appreciate each other more and more, and are dependent upon one another to a greater extent, than when our beloved Order was at its high-water mark in numbers.

Our membership in good standing June 30, 1894, was 23,464.

Our Massachusetts Soldiers' Home is giving a comfortable asylum to many worthy, worn-out veterans, who as they listen to roll call for the last time, will die blessing the Home and its humane and kind administration.

MICHIGAN—The building—Woman's Annex to Soldiers' Home—is a reality. Through the efforts of a joint committee of the Grand Army of the Republic and Woman's Relief Corps, an appropriation of \$15,000 was secured from the Legislature; and on Jan. 3, 1894, there was dedicated upon the grounds of the Soldiers' Home at Grand Rapids, a beautiful building known as the Woman's Annex. In addition to the appropriation by the State, many Posts and Woman's Relief Corps, with private individuals, contributed generously; and each room is completely furnished by some of these contributors and known by the name of such. The rules governing the Annex are made by the governing power of the Soldiers' Home. Applicants to the Annex are recommended by a committee of the Woman's Relief Corps, appointed by that body. The occupants of the building at the present time are fourteen in number, several of them over sixty-five years of age. This beginning of a work inaugurated by Past Department President, Mrs. S. L. Brown of Ithaca, has been crowned with success. The veterans of Michigan are proud of the Home and the Woman's Annex, monuments to a patriotic love for Union Soldiers, their wives or widows who in advancing age are needing assistance.

MINNESOTA—The Minnesota Soldiers' Home con-

continues to be the pride of the State. The State has continued its humane policy of very liberal appropriations for its support. There is also a Relief Fund provided, over and beyond the support of the Home. During the past year, \$40,000 was thus distributed. There were, for the year, three hundred inmates in the Home; and of that number, twenty-four died during the year. The average length of military service of the soldiers who enjoy this hospitality was twenty-nine and a half months. The buildings, hospital, and all the equipments of the Home, are in first-class condition. This institution will pass into history as one of the State's greatest benefactions.

MISSOURI—In this department there are 435 Posts, with a membership of 18,611. The Woman's Relief Corps have taken preliminaries for building a Soldiers' Home in the State for old soldiers, their wives and nurses.

MONTANA—The Inspector-General, in speaking of this Department, says: "On the whole, I think the Department of Montana should be proud of her record. It has been difficult to hold our own. The stringency of money matters under an administration over which seemingly-*Providence has no control*, has made it very hard to keep up the finances of the Posts. Yet we have some as loyal and patriotic men and officers as ever wore the "Blue." We begin to realize that ere long the Sons of Veterans and Ladies' Aid Society to the Sons of Veterans will be the only organizations left to perpetuate the memory of the "Boys in Blue." Our belief is beautifully expressed in the language of the poet, when he said,—

“ But though the veterans vanish, their children still remain,
The deeds of their fathers to cherish;
And the cause for which we battled, our children will maintain,
And the foes of our banner shall perish.
For we battled not in vain if still that banner waves,
Through ages our Nation adorning,
And loyal hands shall plant it 'mid the flowers upon our graves,
Till the great reveille in the morning.”

PENNSYLVANIA—The Pennsylvania Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Erie is now occupied by the full quota of inmates allowed by the laws of the State, the number being limited to 400. It is under the admirable management of Past Dept. Com. W. W. Tyson, who recently enjoyed the high distinction of receiving a medal of honor from the World's Fair Commission of Chicago, commending the Board of Trustees for the best-conducted home of the many in the country. This Board, of which the Governor of the Commonwealth is President, is composed of eleven members, ten of whom are active comrades of this Department.

The Soldiers' Orphans' Schools of this State, which have been in successful operation for some years, mainly through the efforts of the comrades of the Grand Army, are about to undergo a change in the introduction of the Industrial School feature in connection with the system now in vogue. The new departure, which will be known as the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans' Industrial School, will be located at Scotland, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. The State having appropriated \$150,000 toward the project, and the buildings being in course of erection, it is hoped they will be entirely completed prior to the close of the year.

Those children now occupying the schools in operation and located at Hartford, Susquehanna County, Chester Springs, Chester County, and Uniontown, Fayette County, will be graduated from them at the age of fourteen years, and admitted for a term of not less than five years at the Industrial School, the Commission in charge having the power to close the three schools above mentioned upon the completion of the Industrial School, or at their discretion continue them for the space of two years. It is more than probable that these schools, which have been the pride and glory of the old soldiers, and which have been of such incalculable benefit in providing for the tuition and care of the children of our deceased comrades, will continue to the full limit of the time allowed, inasmuch as nine of the eleven members of the Commission are comrades of the Grand Army.

The report of the Assistant Adjutant-General of this State for the year ending December 31, 1893, shows the muster-in of six Posts and the disbandment of one. Those now in good standing reach the grand total of 621 Posts, with a total membership of 43,724. The gain in membership during the year was but slight, being only seventy-nine, due in a great measure to the largely increasing death roll, which numbered 846 members.

POTOMAC—Owing to the policy of retrenchment, inaugurated by the present administration, much suffering has been imposed upon our comrades of this Department, many of whom were government employes; and the loss of employment has entailed a great amount

of labor upon the officers of the Department, notably upon the Senior Vice Department Commander, who, by virtue of his office, is the chairman of the employment committee. Anticipating this state of affairs, a committee was appointed to call upon the chief executive, appealing to him to spare the old veterans from dismissal; and promises were made that they should be protected. Notwithstanding those promises, scores of our comrades are today left without means of support and have but little prospect for the future. This state of affairs has made its imprint upon Grand Army affairs in this Department and has caused serious embarrassment to the department officers. Its effect is also visible at the Post meetings, the attendance being smaller, and much of the old enthusiasm being found wanting.

RHODE ISLAND—On the shore of the beautiful and historic Narragansett Bay, in the town of Bristol, R. I., stands the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home for disabled Volunteer Union soldiers and sailors. The temperate, equable and health-giving climatic conditions, the beautiful land and water scenery, are unsurpassed.

During the year of 1893 a Hospital was built at a cost of \$12,000. The building is of wood, conforming in general appearance to those built in 1891. It contains ten wards, having a capacity of ten beds each, six small rooms for a bed each, reception rooms, Surgeon's office, dining room, bath rooms, etc.

The membership of the Home Dec. 31, 1893, was 120. Total number admitted since the Home was opened in the Spring of 1891, 220.

The last Legislature appropriated \$22,000 for the support of the Home, and \$13,000 for the Soldiers' Relief Fund. The State of Rhode Island, through its legislatures, has appropriated during the past six years for the support and care of its veterans, their families, and other matters appertaining to the interests of the veterans in the State, the sum of \$371,427.62.

TEXAS—"Our Ninth Annual Encampment, held at Dublin, Texas, in April, in response to the earnest invitation of the Erath and Comanche Ex-Confederate Association, of which Gen. J. T. Harris was the Commander, was the best attended and in every way the most successful ever held in this State. The Ex-Confederates gave us a very hearty welcome, and, together with the citizens of Dublin, did all in their power to make our meeting a grand success. The Woman's Relief Corps Convention was also quite largely attended and was a success, their deliberations being marked by harmony and earnestness. The local Camp of Sons of Veterans, a fine-looking body of young men, were also in line on parade. The most interesting and touching feature of the parade was the 250 or 300 old "Johnnies," clad in as many hues and styles of dress as ever they wore in "war times," and the 1,000 school children, all drawn up in line as the boys in bright blue uniforms marched down the street to the tune of Dixie. Hundreds of flags waved and cheer upon cheer rent the air as the "Boys in Blue" marched passed these old grizzled ex-Confederates and lovely school children. It was here that the "United American Veteran" Association was formed, and about 250 "Yanks" and "Rebs"

enrolled themselves side by side as members of the new order."

VERMONT.—"The Vermont Soldiers' Home at Bennington was incorporated in 1884, and is under the management of a board of eighteen trustees, fifteen of whom are members of the Grand Army of the Republic. Owing to lack of funds the Home was not established and opened for inmates until May, 1887, since which time it has cared for two hundred and fifty soldiers.

The buildings stand in the center of a large tract; in front is the highest fountain in the world, and also two beautiful groves. The sleeping rooms are neat, comfortable, well ventilated and furnished, each room having two beds and being occupied by two comrades. Many of the rooms have been furnished by G. A. R. Posts and Woman's Relief Corps. A neat and well arranged hospital was erected two years ago; but the number of chronic diseases has so increased that the trustees have added a wing the present season. The water supply is excellent and very ample, the sanitary conditions good, no case of any malarial character having ever occurred since it opened.

A beautiful chapel, costing with furnishings \$3,000, has been erected by voluntary contributions of G. A. R. Posts, Woman's Relief Corps and individuals, without any state or government aid; the only building of the kind so erected, so far as we know, in the United States.

VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.—"The high-water mark" of the Grand Army of the Republic in this Department has no doubt been reached. A few

years more and our long and unequal struggle will have ended, and the end may come before our final "muster-out;" for in no section of the Union has the existence of the Grand Army of the Republic been threatened to the extent it has here.

The Department Commander of Kansas, in his introductory address, gave utterance to an important truth in the following forcible language:

"The Grand Army, as a social, moral and political force, is bigger than any political party. It has a platform broad enough to afford standing room for every true soldier of the Union. Every worthy comrade of the war residing within this department, and who is so situated that he can attend at least one post meeting during the year, should be brought within our ranks."

To those comrades of the war who are not in our ranks, he says: "You are welcome without regard to your political faith or affiliation, if that love of country which led you to offer your lives for its preservation still burns in your breast." When we bravely charged upon the sunken roadway and stone wall at Fredericksburg; over a field raked as with a fine comb by cannon shot and shell from right, front and left, and by musketry from our hidden foe four lines deep; or scaled with Sheridan, under the eyes of Grant and Thomas, the heights of Missionary Ridge, we did not ask our comrades what they thought of the tariff—we stood shoulder to shoulder as comrades. We are and must be comrades still. Let us stand together now as we did then, and side step to the center, closing all vacant files, thus presenting to the country a solid front, which no party or faction dare ignore or conspire against."



N. ROLLINS,

Past Department Commander, Department of Colorado and Wyoming, G. A. R.

TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE UNION ARMY,—NUMBER
OF MEN FROM EACH STATE FROM APRIL 15,
1861, TO JUNE 30, 1865:

Maine	69,738	Missouri.....	108,773
New Hampshire.....	33,913	Kentucky	75,275
Vermont.....	33,272	Kansas.....	20,095
Massachusetts.....	146,467	Tennessee.....	31,092
Rhode Island.....	23,248	Arkansas	8,289
Connecticut.....	55,755	North Carolina.....	3,156
New York.....	445,959	California	15,725
New Jersey.....	75,315	Nevada.....	1,080
Pennsylvania	338,155	Oregon.....	1,810
Delaware.....	12,265	Washington Ter.....	964
Maryland	46,053	Nebraska.....	3,157
West Virginia.....	32,003	Colorado Ter.....	4,903
District of Columbia..	16,534	Dakota Ter.....	206
Ohio.....	310,654	New Mexico Ter.....	6,561
Indiana	194,363	Alabama.....	2,576
Illinois.....	258,162	Florida.....	1,290
Michigan.....	88,111	Louisiana	5,224
Wisconsin	91,021	Mississippi.....	545
Minnesota	24,002	Texas.....	1,965
Iowa.....	75,793	Indian Nations	3,530
Total.....		2,666,999.	
Total Union Loss in the War.....		359,496.	

Since the inauguration of Memorial Day, more than half of those then living have died. "Like a swift running river they are passing away; like decaying stars in the morning twilight, they are faded and gone; but the holy light of memory keeps them visible in our hearts, and in Heaven their faces grow brighter, as with curious interest they watch our proceedings here. We are ever tied to them by the unfading glories of the past."

Department Commander, S. B. Daboll, in his Memorial Day General Order, says:

"The spring buds and the opening flowers remind us that Memorial Day is at hand. Thoughts of departed comrades, the ties that bound us to them and still holds them in our memories, come thronging over us; the veil at times grows thin and it almost seems that they are still with us, touching elbows along the battle line or sitting by us at the camp fire or in the post room.

Let us on Memorial Day realize all that this means, and make the ceremonies as sacred as these memories. Gather at their graves with the flowers of springtime."

"Beautiful gems of the beautiful spring.
Beautiful flowers are the tribute we bring,
Jeweled with tears as an offering.
Tenderly lay them, their fragrance to shed,
Mingling their perfume with benisons shed
Over the graves of our patriot dead."

THE NINETEENTH OF SEPTEMBER.

The dedication of the Chickamauga National Military Park, September 19, 1895, revives memories of that fatal day in the history of the war. "In the latter part of June, Rosecrans succeeded in crowding General Bragg out of Tennessee. The Union general followed and took post at Chattanooga, on the left bank of the Tennessee. During the summer Bragg was re-inforced by the corps of Johnston and Longstreet. On the nineteenth of September, he turned upon the Federals at Chickamauga Creek, in the north-west angle of Georgia. A hard battle was fought, but night came with the victory undecided. On

the following morning the fight was renewed. After the conflict had continued for some hours, the national battle-line was opened by a mistake of Gen. Wood. Bragg thrust forward a heavy column into the gap, cut the Union army in two, and drove the right wing into a rout.

Gen. Thomas, with desperate firmness, held the left until nightfall, and then withdrew into Chattanooga. The Union loss amounted to nearly nineteen thousand, and that of the Confederates was even greater.

Gen. Bragg pressed forward to besiege Chattanooga; but Gen. Hooker arrived with two corps from the Army of the Potomac, opened the Tennessee River and brought relief. At the same time Gen. Grant assumed the direction of affairs at Chattanooga. Gen. Sherman arrived with his division, and offensive operations were at once renewed. On the 24th of November, LOOK-OUT MOUNTAIN, overlooking the town and river, was stormed by the division of Gen. Hooker. On the following day MISSIONARY RIDGE was also carried, and Bragg's army fell back in full retreat toward Ringgold. On the 1st of September, Gen. Burnside arrived with his command at Knoxville. After the battle of Chickamauga, Gen. Longstreet was sent into East Tennessee, where he arrived and began the siege of Knoxville. On the 29th of November the Confederates attempted to carry the town by storm, but were repulsed with heavy losses. Gen. Sherman soon marched to the relief of Burnside, and Longstreet retreated into Virginia.



EMMA R. WALLACE,
National President Woman's Relief Corps.

"One by one we muster heavenward; one by one our tents we fold;
Year by year our ranks are thinning, soon the number will be told;
Twilight shadows soon will deepen; guard be mounted, taps be beat!
List! from dreamland comes a signal. 'Tis from those we there shall greet.
Reunited in a kingdom where no sounds of war are heard,
We shall rest in peace eternal, this is our Great Captain's word."

"Thus star by star declines,
Till all are passed away,
As morning high and higher shines
To pure and perfect day.
Nor sink those stars in empty night,
But hide themselves in heaven's own light."

Every citizen of this republic is indebted in some way and in some measure to this glorious organization. It is delightful to explain its aims and purposes, the charity and patriotism embodied in its principles, which find happy and fruitful expression in the sympathetic work of the Order, in relieving the widows and children of our fallen comrades, and those of our comrades around us, as well as the beautiful and touching burial of our heroic dead. The great public gatherings of the Grand Army have a tendency to recall afresh the pleasantries of camp-life to the recollection of old and venerable comrades, to remind the living the cost of the late war in men and treasure; the sacrifice made to save our matchless republic; to impress upon our youth veneration for the aged veteran and to teach them to cherish undying love for our national emblem, our benign

institutions and our chosen and revered form of Government.

Appomattox. The very name recalls not only to veterans, but even to every school child in this broad Republic, that at Appomattox transpired an incident that marked an epoch in the history of the world, that will live even when Rome is forgotten. Then and there it was that the incomparable Grant, in accepting the surrender of his gallant adversary Lee, directed that the enemy should keep their horses and mules, because they would need them in making their crops. From Appomattox sprang the act of magnanimity extended to a conquered host, a reaching out of hands, a measure of brotherly love, that astonished the nations of the world, but which has resulted in re-uniting our people; which occasioned the warm grasp of the hand and placed the opposing factions in line of march to a common prosperity. All hail the day!

WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS AUXILIARY TO THE GRAND
ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

There is no association of women that more clearly sets forth the value of organized and systematized work among women than the Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic. Eleven years and a half ago it entered upon its national existence with a few hundred members. It closed its tenth year, with 140,000 members in good and regular standing, which means an annual paid up membership of one dollar each.

In those ten years it raised and expended over a mil-

lion and fifteen thousand dollars in cash for the benefit of unfortunate soldiers and their families or the widows and orphans of those deceased, has founded schools, homes, and hospitals, or secured important legislation to this end; has led the van in the march of patriotic teaching in our public schools, and now receives the plaudits of a nation, expressed publicly through many of its official heads, State and National.

REMINISCENCES.

Hymns of happy hearts now swell to Heaven, where once was heard the sound of shrieking shell, and deafening roar, and rattle, of the dread enginery of war.

How vivid to many of our readers is the memory of the scenes of rejoicing when the war closed! The shouts of victory, the pœans of joy and thanksgiving from a nation of freedmen—the heartfelt welcome home of the “Boys in Blue”—the heroes who had braved countless perils in their Country’s service, all form bright pictures in Memory’s gallery.

Equally memorable—never to be forgotten, is the fate of those who returned not with their comrades—fathers, sons and brothers, who bravely fell upon the field of battle. For them have fallen tears as plentiful as the grass-blades and the flowerets woven in the verdant mantle over them!

All honor to the patriots brave
Who fought our holy cause to gain—
Our Country’s honored flag to save!
No craven thought of self had they—
No fear of death, nor dread of pain;



SARAH C. MINK,
Past National President Woman's Relief Corps.

With victory won and duty done,
To home, "Sweet home," they'd turn again.
Through winter's cold, or summer's sultry day,—
O'er mountain, river, marsh and plain—
Where'er the path of duty lay—
All weary, battle scarred and worn,
They marched in solid columns on.
'Mid shot and shell and leaden rain,
They fell—with hearts so true—
The valiant "Boys in Blue"
Who ne'er came home again!

And what though force might equal force—
Brave men by thousands fall and die—
Their country calls, they heed her voice,
And loyal hearts repeat the cry:
"O'er all, shall Freedom's banner wave!"
Battalions dead might strew the plain—
Whole armies fill a common grave,
And loving hearts might wait in vain;
Thrice welcome death or victory then!
Our flag was there—its stars were bright;
Triumphal arms flashed in their light;
And Heaven blest those noble men
Who fought for freedom and the right!
Our country's banner by Heaven blest
Waves o'er North and South, East and West!
Henceforth it is no idle boast—
From shores of Maine to western coast—
From line of march of Sherman to the sea,
O'er all the land, the old flag proudly waves
And 'neath its starry folds, all men are free!

Thousands who shared in the perils and fortunes of the war, who returned to the endearments of home, have since passed from earth—brave commanders and equally

brave soldiers from the ranks; and with every passing year, a still greater number than of the years preceding have gone "to that bourne from whence no traveler returns"—to wake no more to sound of reveille, to bugle blast, or thunders of artillery; so do the sacred mounds of our nation's loved and honored dead multiply, and so will they continue to increase till the Grand Army shall have passed to the silent encampment in the valley.

Of the hundreds of thousands of patriots who perished that the nation might live, to each name there is clinging a glorious history—of toil, of self-sacrifice, of endurance, of patience and long-suffering, of courage and devotion to their country, and at a time when every fabric of this nation was quivering, strained to its utmost tension, to secure for the people of the period, and for the generations of the future, a country redeemed, and those rights and conditions which give the highest development attainable by man. Let the people of this generation remember that while the war of the Revolution gave our nation birth, through the second baptism of fire and sword the nation achieved immortality. Let it also be remembered that had the Union cause failed, her light would have gone out in darkness, and with it the aspirations, the dearest rights of the thirty millions of people! Had there been failure by the Union armies, the dread horrors of a ruined and distracted nation would have ensued; a nation would have disappeared as a fallen star, while despots would have rejoiced for the overthrow of the Government and downfall of American liberty. But the country pre-

served by the patriotism of her people will live, gaining greater glory and luster as the years, the decades and the centuries roll by, its splendor shall illuminate the world! Her stars shall ne'er be dimmed, her glory never die.

The heroes who made an offering to old Neptune of a cargo of tea in the harbor of Boston, who upheld the nation's honor in 1812, who preserved the unity of the country when fratricidal hands were raised for its dismemberment and destruction, are one and the same. Though a grateful people may hallow their fame, plant acacias to mark their mounds, and strew them with the choicest flowers of Spring, the qualities and virtues that distinguished the heroes live, and will live so long as America shall be loyal to freedom!

As great as is my admiration of the genius, the wisdom, tact and skill of the great majority of the Union commanders, equally great is my admiration of the patriotism and heroism of the private soldier. It is a notable fact that from the ranks of the Union army it was never difficult to find the qualifications and inherent qualities requisite for any office from Corporal to General—a peculiarity not to be found in so eminent a degree in the army of any other nation.

From 1861 to the close of 1862, how adverse to the Union cause, how disheartening the outlook of the contest, merely estimating the results achieved by our armies in the field, but there shone with sublimity seldom paralleled in the history of the world, the people's faith in the final triumph of the right. That faith was the fruit of patriotism and of religious enthu-

siasm and zeal. It was the living faith that led the heroes of the war of the Revolution to battle successfully against superior forces, and under the most adverse and trying circumstances to march to victory. It was the living faith of the Puritan fathers. They beheld the pillar of fire and heard the voice of the Almighty guiding them to victory. It was faith ingrained in the hearts of the people by inheritance, and taught them from infancy to manhood, in their homes, even as the Spartans taught their sons valor—"Return with your Shield, or upon your Shield" was the injunction of the Spartan mother, as she bade her son go forth in response to the call of country. So were our soldiers taught, so went they forth before they received the sterner training of the camp and field.

And it was later, the living faith planted and cherished by the all-wise God, that led to the final and most brilliant victory ever achieved by human hands and hearts and intellects, greater than the most glorious triumphs of the battle field—the grandest of victories, yet bloodless, of *uniting* the people of all the States, in cordial, sincere and true friendship, of entire harmony and devotion to principles which secure glory, honor prosperity and happiness to the nation—not of one section or another only, but throughout the land, over which the old flag waves.

How is memory's gallery stored with glowing pictures of the period of the war! The blackness of Erebus—the plottings of Conspirators—will by contrast serve to intensify the brilliancy and vividness of the heart pictures to which, in retrospect, with pride and joy we turn.

O the popular awakening in the early din of warfare—the popular realization of the great exigency and duty of the hour to every citizen! The Country was ablaze with patriotism; groups, small and great, assembled upon the street corners, in homes, in halls, in churches, in postoffices and market places everywhere, and how animated the scene—the flashing of glances, the emphasis of language, the gesticulation and handshaking, and soon the “Boys in Blue” were marching—the pride, the flower and glory of the North marched away to the music of the Union! Hundreds of thousands responded to the call of “Father Abraham,” and marched to the front. The good mothers, sisters and sweethearts, all turned out and sent their blessings after the disappearing column, till the sound of the “tramp, tramp,” and the music had died away, and then the loved and loving ones in secret grief gave way to their overcharged hearts.

And there were whole companies of gray beards who marched also to the front, men who had tried to discount a few of their years that they might not be rejected for their age, and there was many a brave youth just entering upon his teens, who evinced his love for the old flag, and later fought under it with all the heroism and valor of veterans. So thousands and hundreds of thousands responded to the Country's call, and marched to the front with as much alacrity and readiness as if out for a picnic, or for encampment in time of peace.

In recruiting, there was no need to appeal to any selfish consideration, for the “Boys” would have gone even if they had been required to pay their own

expenses, and if they had had anything left over, they would have given the excess to Uncle Sam to have helped the cause along!

In Memory's gallery there is another grand, sublime and lovely picture, to which we turn with eminent satisfaction and pride. It is woman's patriotic and humane work during the mighty conflict. When "grim visaged war" stalked forth in the land, and following came his train of ghastly horrors, devastating and filling it with grief, the sound of strife and woe was the signal for *woman* to go forth as an angel of mercy, to scenes of blood and carnage, in defiance of peril, and at the sacrifice of all considerations of self, devoted only to God, her country, and humanity—going forth to bind the wounds, and with benedictions of tender mercy, to pour the balm of heavenly peace into hearts that ebbed away their life-blood for our imperilled country.

What a volume of reverence, of honor, esteem, gratitude, does this heart picture awaken, for the "Soldiers' Aid Societies," the "Woman's Relief Corps," and other active and efficient coadjutors and allies of our armies—What hallowed memories have we for the noble hearts, the liberal hands, the glowing patriotism, the busy fingers, the tenderness and sympathy with suffering! Where and when the end of such labors! They ceased not with the war, nor to the present hour, nor will they end with the life of the last veteran of the Grand Army! They will go down the ages as a brilliant, glowing page of our National history, and those who shall read, will bless the memory of the noble women of that eventful period. The labors of

these benefactors of humanity will not be limited to time, but will live on and on forever, for good words or good deeds do not, cannot die.

It is an honor, the proudest honor a man can possess, to be able to say that he followed the old flag, that he tendered his life that the nation might live.

The Government cannot afford to violate, directly nor indirectly, any promise that it has made to men who have sustained it; the nation that would have brave defenders in the future, must deal justly with its defenders of the past! Historians will record with proud satisfaction—their records will go down the ages—that differ as the people might have done upon the party issues of the day, the call TO ARMS brought to the field men of all parties, who, in the great vital issue of the hour, were united. Shoulder to shoulder they marched to battle, and to victory. Patriotism, not partisanship, was the ruling thought and motive, and to all defenders of the Union, all honor and gratitude is due; for by them it has been demonstrated that the whole is greater than a part, and to the country, *first* of all, the citizen owes fealty.

And while ever mindful and true to the claims of humanity—with hearts large enough and sympathies generous enough to extend to all the world, let us rejoice in the greatness and glory of our country, and may the old flag ever awaken in our hearts enthusiasm and delight, pride and patriotism, as the symbol of freedom, of protection, of progress and of excellence—our banner with its glorious constellation and its rainbow tints of beauty, broad enough to canopy a continent and a pledge of the nation's power for the protection of all over whom in its glory and majesty it waves.

FULL RECOGNITION OF COL AYER'S SERVICES.

The distinguished services of Col. Ayer are fully recognized by the unanimous vote of the City Council of Chicago, Ills., [March 5, 1890] and by testimony of Gov. Yates, of Illinois; Gov. Morton, of Indiana; Brig. Gen. H. E. Paine; Gen. H. L. Burnett, Judge Advocate of the Military Commission in the trial of the assassins of President Lincoln, etc.; Col. B. J. Sweet, Commandant of Camp Douglas; Post Adj. Shurly, Col. L. L. Wilson, Hon. W. H. Rand, (Rand, McNally & Co., publishers) and the most essential facts of this work are corroborated by sworn evidence of Gen. Burnside, Gen. Carrington, Judge Advocate General Holt, Col. Sanderson, Provost Marshal-General of the Department of Missouri; Maj. Gen. Rosecrans, Maj. Gen. Hovey, Maj. Gen. Burbridge, Senators in Congress, and many of the most eminent men of the nation.

FROM BRIG. GEN. H. E. PAINE.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF ILLS.,)
Springfield, Ills., Aug. 27, 1864.)

Col. B. J. Sweet, Commanding Camp Douglas,

Dear Sir: Be kind enough to express to I. Winslow Ayer my sincere thanks for his reports. The composition certainly indicates talents of a high order. I have written to Department headquarters on his behalf, and if his services afford a tangible basis of recommendation at all commensurate with present promise, I shall urge him at Washington for a Staff Commission.

Very truly your obedient servant,
H. E. PAINE, Brig. Gen. Commanding.

Later Gen. Paine gave evidence in Congress in support of a bill in favor of Col. Ayer, introduced into the House by the late Hon. J. Logan Chipman, M. C., and in the U. S. Senate by Hon. J. McMillen, U. S. S. "I believe that the rescue of the thirteen thousand prisoners in Camp Douglas, and the pillage of Chicago was prevented, and the seizure of large quantities of concealed arms and ammunition, and the punishment of the convicted Conspirators were secured by reason of the timely information furnished by Dr. I. Winslow Ayer. I observed his course with hearty approval. *The success of Dr. Ayer was complete and with my personal knowledge of his services, I find it difficult to overestimate their value and importance to the Government.*

[SEAL] H. E. PAINE, Brig. Gen. Commanding.

FROM COL. B. J. SWEET.

POST CAMP DOUGLAS, Chicago, Ill.

I. Winslow Ayer, Dear Doctor:—I have been and am ill. Gen. Hooker, Gen. Paine, Gov. Yates, Lieut. Jenkins, and my letters to the Secretary of War, all will stand to tell how handsomely you have served the Government, if I die. Time at last makes all things even. Don't think I forget you or your admirable services. Ever yours,

B. J. SWEET, Col. Commanding.

FROM POST ADJUTANT SHURLY.

E. R. P. Shurly, late A. A. G., Camp Douglas, testified that "About November 1, 1864, we held as prisoners of war, including Morgan's command, about 13000 men; that the garrison consisted of about 500 officers

and men—a number wholly inadequate to safely guard the prisoners, and repel an attack from an armed enemy from the outside; that the garrison could not be used to protect the city of Chicago in the event of an attack by an armed enemy; that he often saw I. Winslow Ayer at the Camp, and was aware that he was acting in the interest of the Government, and his reports were of great importance and value to the Union cause; had frequently heard Col. Sweet speak of the important service rendered the Government by said Ayer, and commend his courage and intelligence; that he believes the course taken by him caused him very heavy pecuniary loss; that he (Shurly) knew of the arrest of many persons on the night of November 6, 1864, for conspiring against the Government, to release the prisoners of war and destroy Chicago; that he issued orders for the seizure of arms stored adjacent to Camp Douglas; that large numbers of muskets, pistols, carbines, guns, with an immense quantity of ammunition, was captured.”

E. R. P. SHURLY,

Late A. A. G., Camp Douglas, Brev't Captain and
1st Lieut., U. S. A.

FROM HIS EXCELLENCY, HON. RICHARD YATES, GOV-
ERNOR OF ILLINOIS.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL., MAY 20, 1865.

Col. I. Winslow Ayer, Dear Sir:—

It affords me great gratification to know of the successful completion of your perilous and most difficult undertaking. It was a most responsible trust, the faithful execution of which might imperil life, and had the work been confided to a person of less patriotism, pru-

dence, firmness, perception and ability than yourself, the investigation would have been futile, and the disaster would have been precipitated.

Our countrymen will ever appreciate the service you have rendered. It is too apparent to all thinking men, to require special remark, that had you not foiled those desperate Conspirators at the very moment you did, an irreparable disaster to our glorious cause would doubtless have ensued, for with thousands of released rebels and their numerous treasonable allies in our midst, who can estimate the extent of the crimes they would have perpetrated. Those who write the history of this struggle through which we have passed, and record the names of men who rendered efficient aid to our country, will not forget the noble, self-sacrificing task of yourself nor fail to record it in letters of gold.

Very Respectfully,

RICHARD YATES.

FROM GEN. H. L. BURNETT, JUDGE ADVOCATE.

"I became acquainted with Col. I. Winslow Ayer, while he was engaged in the service of the Government, in the investigation of treasonable plots and designs of a secret, sworn, treasonable organization existing in Illinois, Indiana, and elsewhere. I was Judge Advocate of the Military Commission held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in the winter of 1864-5, for the trial of St. Leger Grenfell and others arrested in Chicago, November 6, 1864, on charge of conspiring to liberate the prisoners of war in Camp Douglas, and to lay waste and destroy the city of Chicago. I was most favorably impressed with the loyalty and efficiency of said Ayer. The accused were

convicted upon all the charges and specifications of the indictment and severally sentenced. The evidence of all the witnesses for the Government convinced me that there had existed a most extensive and formidable secret treasonable organization in Chicago and elsewhere, which, had its designs and plots not been timely disclosed to the government, would have caused great disaster to the city of Chicago and the Country.

While I was in Washington as Judge Advocate of the Military Commission engaged in the trial of the assassins of President Lincoln, I received a letter from said Ayer giving certain important information.

From testimony before the Military Commission in the trial of the Indiana Conspirators, and the Military Commission at Cincinnati, I was convinced that there existed in certain Northern States, as well as in the Border States, a widespread conspiracy to actively aid the rebels in arms against the Government, which was virtually broken up. I was impressed from first to last in my acquaintance with said Ayer, that he was zealous and patriotic and discharged his duties to the Government in a skillful and prudent manner."

HENRY L. BURNETT,

[SEAL.]

New York.

FROM HON. W. H. RAND, OF RAND, M'NALLY & CO.,
PUBLISHERS.

Hon. Wm. H. Rand, of Chicago, testified: "In my acquaintance with Col. I. Winslow Ayer, I ever regarded him as a gentleman of excellent character, education and culture, and a sincere and zealous patriot. I have no doubt that but for his timely and efficient ser-

vice for the Government, the terrible plots of the treasonable organization would have been executed."

[SEAL.]

WM. H. RAND.

FROM HON. J. C. BURROWS, M. C.

[Extract from a letter to Hon. Robt. Lincoln, Secretary of War.]

"Dr. Ayer is a gentleman of culture, and is recommended in unqualified terms by gentlemen of the highest distinction—Governors of States, Generals in the Army, Members of Congress, Clergymen, Judges and others, several of whom are personally known to me, residents in the Congressional District I represented in Congress. He is esteemed most by those who know him best. J. C. BURROWS, Kalamazoo, Mich.

FROM HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD, M. C.

CHICAGO, May 10, 1865.

"Col. I. Winslow Ayer—Dear Sir:—

Last summer you stated to me that there existed a widespread Conspiracy having its agents, some of them in our city. So startling were the disclosures, that it was difficult to believe that anything so infamous could exist. Subsequent events and the terrible tragedy developing such fiend-like atrocity at Washington, have shown that we were too slow in guarding against traitors and their barbarous plots.

For the courage, vigilance, activity and patriotism you have displayed, you are entitled to the gratitude of the people; you are also well entitled to the favor of the Government. Very Respectfully Yours,

ISAAC N. ARNOLD, M. C."

FROM FARRAGUT POST NO. 32, G. A. R., BATTLE
CREEK, MICH.

"We have listened to the address of Col. I. Winslow Ayer, entitled "Hidden Perils of the Republic During the War of the Rebellion," and most heartily commend it to every man and woman in the land, as a hitherto unwritten history of greatest interest and importance. It is a vivid portrayal of scenes and events of which the general public are uninformed, and which though startling and thrilling, are faithfully and truly presented. The full endorsment of Col. Ayer by Major Generals and other distinguished army officers, as well as by Governors of States, and the most eminent officials of the nation, are honors seldom won in the service, and entitles him to the highest consideration of all citizens of our country. To all officers and comrades of the G. A. R., we commend him in all sincerity and cordiality. The address is a *masterly production*, patriotic and noble in sentiment, and certain to be productive of great good in whatever section of the Union it may be given.

SIMEON S. FRENCH, Col. Commanding.

VOICE OF THE PRESS:

The general sentiment of the leading news journals all over the Union was voiced in the following:

FROM THE INTER OCEAN:

"Lieut. Governor Smith, after explaining the absence of Governor Oglesby, and reading a telegram from him regretting his inability to be present, then introduced Col. I. Winslow Ayer, who made the address of the evening, upon the "Great Conspiracy in the North During the War."

“Col. Ayer is a man of commanding physique, his white hair and beard giving him a place in the years of which he tells so thrillingly, and his voice, never weak in the cause of liberty, is never stronger than when denouncing the conspiracy, which came so near wrecking the Government in its hours of trial. He told in graphic periods of the growth of the Order “Sons of Liberty” and its ramifications, and described with that vividness which is only at the command of the eye witness. He rehearsed the details of the diabolical plot for the liberation of the prisoners in Camp Douglas, and for the sacking of Chicago. He told of the arrest and trial of the leaders and of the frustration of the plot, and referred to the fact that men whom they arrested then were now trusted officials of the Government. Col. Ayer’s address was listened to with marked attention throughout, and his eloquent periods elicited repeated bursts of applause.”

All the news journals of the city were lavish in praise of the address.

FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

“Several communications that have recently appeared in the Tribune relative to a plot many years ago, to release the rebel prisoners at Camp Douglas and to plunder and destroy Chicago, have recalled the name of Dr. I. Winslow Ayer, who was the chief instrument by which the conspiracy was discovered and nipped in the bud. His was an important mission, and the part he took in unearthing the plot won numerous testimonials both from the Government and citizens of Chicago. The doctor is now an old gentleman, but he is yet as

vigorous, both mentally and physically, as ever, and has lost none of the old bitterness with which he assailed the conspirators a quarter of a century ago. The old gentleman is employing his leisure in writing books, and is preparing for publication a history of the great Northwestern Conspiracy under the title of "Hidden Dangers of the Republic during the War of the Rebellion." Dr. Ayer has a quick tongue, a bright, piercing eye and a pronounced vein of humor. In speaking of the chief conspirators, he is as vigorous in language as he was twenty years ago."

In a former issue the Chicago Tribune said: "Col. Ayer has saved the city of Chicago from the torch and her people from the sword. Therefore the rebel organs hold him as a personal foe—open upon him their malignity, and spirt from beneath their forked tongues the fatal venom. It is honorable to Col. Ayer to be thus assailed. Such an assault enrolls him among the patriotic men of this age, and proves that he has rendered to the Country and Chicago some great service. Next in honor to the praise of angels are the maledictions of the damned. Next in honor to the applause of patriots is the condemnation of the Conspirators and their sympathizers."

FROM CITIZENS OF KALAMAZOO, MICH.

"Dr. I. Winslow Ayer is a gentleman of liberal culture and education. In connection with an exploring expedition, he visited and has ably written of the great West from Alaska to the Gulf, and from the Mississippi to the Pacific. He is a southern man, while his residence at the North has also familiarized him with the people

and polity of this section of the Union. He is an author of some of our best books in literature and science, and a pleasing speaker.

E. W. DeYoe, Mayor of Kalamazoo.

William Shakespeare, Q. M. G. M. S. T.

A. S. Hays, City Treasurer.

Delos Phillips, Col. G. A. R.

Geo. F. Hunting, Pastor First Presbyterian Church.

J. L. Hawes, Late Judge of Circuit Court.

Robt. F. Hill, Commander Orcutt Post, G. A. R.

A. J. Shakespeare, Ed. Gazette and Postmaster.

L. N. Burke, Judge of Recorder's Court.

J. Frank Alley, U. S. Commissioner.

FROM THE PEORIA, ILL., TRANSCRIPT, 1865.

"Col. I. Winslow Ayer and his men have exhibited a self-sacrificing devotion to the country, the highest degree of patriotism, true heroism, utter disregard for self-interest, even of life itself, and stand out among the most prominent of our country's defenders, in the darkest days of the Republic. Their names should be emblazoned upon the tablet of honor, as those of men, who, in, their country's hour of peril, rendered a noble and most important service, the memory of which should live in the hearts of a grateful people; for if they have rendered any service at all, they have not only saved Chicago from being a blackened and charred waste, but they have saved several of the Western and Border States from the rule of the enemy.

It is evident to all who know the position of the Union and Southern armies on the 8th of November,

1864, that had the prisoners been released from Camp Douglas, and, as a consequence, a general release of prisoners from all the Northern Posts, an army of formidable proportions, desperate in the extreme, flushed with success, goaded by Grant's advance upon Richmond, and joined by the treasonable secret societies, would not only have devastated our fair cities, but would have given our State and neighboring States into the power of the enemy.

Col. Ayer and his men having broken up this formidable conspiracy, having saved Chicago from ashes, and the country from a terrible disaster, no doubt the magnanimity of the citizens, the gratitude of the people of that city, and of our state, and the whole country will be evinced toward them. Let us either endorse and approve the "Sons of Liberty" and other bands of secret traitors who killed our President, or commend the noble services of the men who have broken up these organized and oath bound orders of Conspirators. One or the other we must do."

FROM THE WESTERN BANNER.

Col. I. Winslow Ayer's name is familiar to every Union soldier. His distinguished services during the war elicited the highest commendations from the Government. To him and his men belong the credit of breaking up the secret and dangerous orders of oath-bound traitors in the North and West, preventing the culmination of their fiendish plots, the enormity of which is not generally known, and which for atrocity has no parallel among civilized people.

FROM SLAYTON'S LYCEUM BUREAU JOURNAL, CHICAGO.

[Biographical,]

Col. I. Winslow Ayer is a Kentuckian. He was educated at Harvard College, and early in life took an active part in the affairs of city and State, having been honored with responsible positions of public trust. After a long experience as a successful journalist in Boston and New York, he employed his leisure time in literature, and several popular and scientific works of extraordinary merit, from his pen, grace our best libraries.

In 1861 he removed from Kentucky, and took an active part in the cause of the Union. So eloquent and enthusiastic was he, that his success in the recruiting service was not surpassed, if equalled, by any other man. In 1862 he was called to Washington, before the examining board and offered the position of Brigade Surgeon. In 1864 he was called to Springfield, Illinois, by Governor Richard Yates, and assigned to special duty by Brig. Gen. H. E. Paine, then in command of the District of Illinois, and later served under orders of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, to the close of the war—his duty being to bring to light, and if possible to crush the most formidable and widespread Conspiracy against the Government, having its origin with the “Knights of the Golden Circle,” and further developed by other sworn treasonable orders, viz: “American Knights” and “Sons of Liberty.”

Organizing a trusty corps of men, he entered upon the perilous work, and carried it to a successful termination, eliciting the highest encomiums of his command-

ing General, and of Hon. E. Stanton, Secretary of War, and of the few who knew of his arduous duties and his heroic devotion to his country. At one time Chicago was in imminent peril and would have been pillaged and destroyed, and the military authorities and prominent loyal citizens would have been assassinated, but for his faithful, prompt and effective measures. Col. B. J. Sweet, then in command of the Post, was informed of all the facts, and to Officers Ayer and Sweet only, was due the preservation of the city from impending and certain destruction. The citizens could scarcely believe the truth of this great peril, till the trials of Conspirators by the Military Commissions were held, when the facts were fully proven by abundant corroborative evidence and several of the leaders were convicted and sentenced.

So exasperated were the members of the Order, that several attempts were made to assassinate Col. Ayer. At one time he was fired upon at night, on his return from Camp Douglas, while stepping from his carriage.

After the close of the war, Col. Ayer was Surgeon of an exploring expedition which afforded him opportunities for the production of his great work—"Wonders of the Western World." With extraordinary powers of endurance, he still continues his labors in literature and in the lecture field."

FROM THE DEPARTMENT COMMANDER G. A. R. OF
MINNESOTA.

"Col. I. Winslow Ayer—Comrade:—

I shall await with considerable interest the receipt of your new book which proposes to open up to the light

of the world the nefarious work of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," when the life of this glorious nation hung by a thread, and they were trying to sever that thread and destroy the best government on earth.

As we have witnessed since the war, many of the very men who plotted our overthrow in the North, elevated to positions of trust and kept there as guardians of the interests of loyal men, it has been enough to make all loyal blood boil with rage. Wishing you the greatest success, I remain yours in F. C. & L.

A. H. REED, Sr. Vice Dep't Commander.
Glencoe, Minn., July 3, 1895.

FROM PAST DEPARTMENT COMMANDER G. A. R., MAINE

OAKLAND, MAINE, July 3, 1895.

Col. I. Winslow Ayer, Dear Sir and Comrade:—

"Your book must be a very valuable contribution to the history of the war of the Rebellion period, dealing as it does with the Rebellion and Rebels *in the North*, of which the rising generation can have only the faintest idea, but which nevertheless, at different times, and in divers places, assumed huge proportions and which gave aid and encouragement to the braver men in the South, who in open warfare sought their ends; and I am glad that you have put upon enduring record so much that bears directly upon the principles of unity and strength, the glory and perpetuity of our Republic."

Sincerely Yours in F. C. & L.,

J. WESLEY GILMORE,
Past Dep't Commander (1894.)

FROM DEPARTMENT COMMANDER, GEN. S. B. DABOLL,
MICHIGAN G. A. R.

Col. I. Winslow Ayer, My Dear Comrade: I heartily commend your project of making the record of "The Great Treason Plot" public through a book. It is hard to make some people at this time, realize the danger we were in as a Nation, in more ways than on the battle field, during those times, and anything that can be done to show the "true inwardness" of that Rebellion is to be commended, and by me will be encouraged. I am very truly yours in F. C. & L.

S. B. DABOLL.

[Gen. Daboll is also Judge of the Circuit Court, and is well known for his patriotic devotion to the Country during the war, and one of the ablest jurists upon the bench.]

FROM HON. N. ROLLINS, PAST DEPARTMENT COM-
MANDER, DEPARTMENT OF COLORADO
AND WYOMING.

Col. I. Winslow Ayer—Dear Sir and Comrade:

I am looking anxiously for your book, believing it will be a most important and valuable addition to the literature growing out of our great civil war.

I remain sincerely yours,

N. ROLLINS.

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